

THE
POLITICAL WRITINGS

OF

JOHN DICKINSON, ESQUIRE,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE, AND OF
THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. II.

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THE FOLLOWING

“ Address to the inhabitants of Quebec——
the first petition to the king—the declaration
to the armies—the second petition to the king
—and the address to the several states,”

EXTRACTED FROM THE JOURNALS OF CONGRESS,

Have always been ascribed to the pen of

MR. DICKINSON.

THE
Address of Congress

TO THE
INHABITANTS OF QUEBEC.

*Dated October 26th, 1774.**

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS,

WE, the DELEGATES of the colonies of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania*, the counties of *New-Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina*, deputed by the inhabitants of the said colonies, to represent them in a general congress at *Philadelphia*, in the province of *Pennsylvania*, to consult together, concerning the best methods to obtain redress of our afflicting grievances; having accordingly assembled, and taken into our most

* Vide Journals of Congress, vol. I, page 58.

serious consideration, the state of public affairs on this continent, have thought proper to address your province, as a member therein deeply interested.

WHEN the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance, had incorporated you with the body of *English* subjects, we rejoiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account; expecting, as courage and generosity are naturally united, our brave enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the Divine Being would bless to you the dispensations of his over-ruling providence, by securing to you and your latest posterity, the inestimable advantages of a free *English* constitution of government, which it is the privilege of all *English* subjects to enjoy.

THESE hopes were confirmed by the king's proclamation, issued in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for your full enjoyment of those advantages.

LITTLE did we imagine that any succeeding ministers would so audaciously and cruelly abuse the royal authority, as to withhold from you the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which you were thus justly intitled.

BUT since we have lived to see the unexpected time, when ministers of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations, and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of that form, you are now undoubtedly intitled to, we esteem it our duty, for the weighty reasons herein-after mentioned, to explain to you some of its most important branches.

“ IN every human society,” says the celebrated marquis *Beccaria*, “ there is an effort continually tending to confer on one part the height of power and happiness, and to reduce the other to the extreme of weakness and misery. The intent of good laws is to oppose this effort, and to diffuse their influence universally and equally.”

RULERS stimulated by this pernicious “ effort,” and subjects, animated by the just “ intent of opposing good laws against it,” have occasioned that vast variety of events, that fill the histories of so many nations. All these histories demonstrate the truth of this simple position, that to live by the will of one man, or set of men, is the production of misery to all men.

ON the solid foundation of this principle, *Englishmen* reared up the fabric of their constitution with such a strength, as for ages to defy time, tyranny, treachery, internal and foreign wars: and as an illustrious author* of your nation, hereafter mentioned, observes,——“ They gave the people of their colonies, the form of their own government, and this government, carrying prosperity along with it, they have grown great nations in the forests they were sent to inhabit.”

IN this form, the first grand right is that of the people having a share in their own government by their representatives chose by themselves, and in consequence of being ruled by laws, which they themselves approve, not by edicts of men over whom they have no controul. This is a bulwark surrounding and defending their property, which by their honest cares and labours they have acquired, so that no portions of it can legally be taken from them, but with their own full and free consent, when they in their judgment deem it just and necessary to give them for public services, and precisely direct the easiest, cheapest, and most equal methods in which they shall be collected.

THE influence of this right extends still farther. If money is wanted by rulers who have in any manner oppressed the people, they may retain it,

* Montesquieu.

until their grievances are redressed; and thus peaceably procure relief, without trusting to despised petitions, or disturbing the public tranquillity.

THE next great right is that of trial by jury. This provides, that neither life, liberty, nor property, can be taken from the possessor, until twelve of his unexceptionable countrymen and peers, of his vicinage, who from that neighborhood, may reasonably be supposed to be acquainted with his character, and the characters of the witnesses, upon a fair trial, and full inquiry, face to face, in open court, before as many of the people as choose to attend, shall pass their sentence upon oath against him; a sentence that cannot injure him, without injuring their own reputation, and probably their interest also; as the question may turn on points, that, in some degree, concern the general welfare; and if it does not, their verdict may form a precedent, that, on a similar trial of their own, may militate against themselves.

ANOTHER right relates merely to the liberty of the person. If a subject is seized and imprisoned, though by order of government, he may, by virtue of this right, immediately obtain a writ, termed a *habeas corpus*, from a judge, whose sworn duty it

is to grant it, and thereupon procure any illegal restraint to be quickly inquired into, and redressed.

A FOURTH right is that of holding lands by the tenure of easy rents, and not by rigorous and oppressive services, frequently forcing the possessors from their families and their business, to perform what ought to be done, in all well regulated states, by men hired for the purpose.

THE last right we shall mention, regards the freedom of the press. The importance of this consists, besides the advancement of truth, science, morality, and arts in general, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of government, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated, into more honourable and just modes of conducting affairs.

THESE are the invaluable rights, that form a considerable part of our mild system of government; that, sending its equitable energy through all ranks and classes of men, defends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors.

THESE are the rights, without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which, these colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. These are the rights, a profligate ministry are now striving, by force of arms, to ravish from us, and which we are, with one mind, resolved never to resign, but with our lives.

THESE are the rights, you are intitled to, and ought at this moment in perfection to exercise. And what is offered to you by the late act of parliament in their place? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it to you; and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected, firmly stipulated for your enjoyment of it. If laws divine, and human, could secure it against the despotic caprices of wicked men, it was secured before. Are the *French* laws, in civil cases restored? *It seems so.* But observe the cautious kindness of the ministers, who pretend to be your benefactors. The words of the statute are—that those “laws shall be the rule, until they shall be varied or altered by any ordinances of the governor and council.” Is the “certainty and lenity of the *criminal* law of *England* and its benefits and advantages,” commended in the said statute, and said to “have been sensibly felt by you,” secured

to you and your descendents? No. They too are subjected to arbitrary "*alterations*" by the governor and council; and a power is expressly reserved of appointing "such courts of *criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical* jurisdiction, as shall be thought proper." Such is the precarious tenure of mere will, by which you hold your lives and religion. The crown and its ministers, are impowered as far as they could be by parliament, to establish even the inquisition itself among you. Have you an assembly composed of worthy men, elected by yourselves, and in whom you can confide, to make laws for you, to watch over your welfare, and to direct in what quantity, and in what manner, your money shall be taken from you? No. The power of making laws for you is lodged in the governor and council, all of them dependent upon, and removeable at the *pleasure* of a minister. Besides, another late statute, made without your consent, has subjected you to the impositions of *excise*; the horror of all free states; thus wresting your property from you by the most odious of taxes, and laying open to insolent tax-gatherers, houses, the scenes of domestic peace and comfort, and called the castles of *English* subjects in the books of their law. And in the very act for altering your government, and intended to flatter you, you are not authorised to "assess, levy or apply any *rates and taxes*, but for the inferior purposes of *making roads*, and erect-

ing and repairing *public buildings*, or for other *local* conveniences, within your respective towns and districts."——Why this degrading distinction? Ought not the property honestly acquired by *Canadians* to be held as sacred as that of *Englishmen*? Have not *Canadians* sense enough to attend to any other public affairs, than gathering stones from one place and piling them up in another? Unhappy people! who are not only injured, but insulted. Nay more!—With such a superlative contempt of your understanding and spirit has an insolent ministry presumed to think of you, our respectable fellow subjects, according to the information we have received, as firmly to persuade themselves that your gratitude, for the injuries and insults they have recently offered to you, will engage you to take up arms, and render yourselves the ridicule and detestation of the world, by becoming tools, in their hands, to assist them in taking that freedom from *us*, which they have treacherously denied to *you*; the unavoidable consequence of which attempt, if successful, would be the extinction of all hopes of you or your posterity being ever restored to freedom: for idiocy itself cannot believe, that, when their drudgery is performed, they will treat you with less cruelty than they have us, who are of the same blood with themselves.

WHAT would your countryman, the immortal *Montesquieu*, have said to such a plan of domination, as has been framed for you ? Hear his words, with an intenseness of thought suited to the importance of the subject.—“ In a free state, every man, who is supposed a free agent, *ought to be concerned in his own government*: therefore the *legislative* should reside in the whole body of the people, or their *representatives*.”——“ The political liberty of the subject is a *tranquility of mind*, arising from the opinion each person has of his *safety*. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite the government be so constituted, as that one man need not be *afraid* of another. When the power of *making* laws and the power of *executing* them, are *united* in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, *there can be no liberty*; because apprehensions may arise, lest the same *monarch* or *senate* should *enact* tyrannical laws, to *execute* them in a tyrannical manner.”

“ THE power of *judging* should be exercised by persons taken from the *body of the people*, at certain times of the year, and pursuant to a form and manner prescribed by law. *There is no liberty*, if the power of *judging* be not *separated* from the *legislative* and *executive* powers.”

“MILITARY men belong to a profession, which *may be useful, but is often dangerous.*”——“The enjoyment of liberty, and even its support and preservation, consists in every man’s being allowed to speak his thoughts, and lay open his sentiments.”

APPLY these decisive maxims, sanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to your own state. You have a governor, it may be urged, vested with the *executive* powers, or the powers of *administration*: in him, and in your council, is lodged the power of *making laws*.—You have *judges*, who are to *decide* every cause affecting your lives, liberty or property.—Here is, indeed, an appearance of the several powers being *separated* and *distributed* into *different* hands, for checks one upon another; the only effectual mode ever invented by the wit of men, to promote their freedom and prosperity. But scorning to be illuded by a tinselled outside, and exerting the natural sagacity of *Frenchmen*, examine the specious device, and you will find it, to use an expression of holy writ, “a whited sepulchre,” for burying your lives, liberty and property.

YOUR *judges*, and your *legislative council*, as it is called, are *dependent* on your governor, and *he* is *dependent* on the servant of the crown in *Great-Britain*.——The *legislative*, *executive*, and *judging*

powers are *all* moved by the nods of a minister.—Privileges and immunities last no longer than his smiles. When he frowns, their feeble forms dissolve. Such a treacherous ingenuity has been exerted in drawing up the code lately offered you, that every sentence, beginning with a benevolent pretension, concludes with a destructive power; and the substance of the whole, divested of its smooth words, is—that the crown and its ministers shall be as absolute throughout your extended province, as the despots of *Asia* or *Africa*. What can protect your property from taxing edicts, and the rapacity of necessitous and cruel masters; your persons from *letters de cachet*, goals, dungeons, and oppressive services? your lives and general liberty from arbitrary and unfeeling rulers? we defy you, casting your view upon every side, to discover a single circumstance, promising from any quarter the faintest hope of liberty to you or your posterity, but from an intire adoption into the union of these colonies.

WHAT advice would the truly great man before mentioned, that advocate of freedom and humanity, give you, was he now living, and knew that we, your numerous and powerful neighbours, animated by a just love of our invaded rights, and united by the indissoluble bands of affection and interest, called upon you, by every obligation of regard for

yourselves and your children, as we now do, to join us in our righteous contest, to make common cause with us therein, and take a noble chance for emerging from a humiliating subjection under governors, intendants, and military tyrants, into the firm rank and condition of *English* freemen, whose custom it is, derived from their ancestors, to make those tremble, who dare to think of making them miserable ?

Would not this be the purport of his address ? “ seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a small people, compared to those who with open arms invite you into a fellowship.—A moment’s reflection should convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness, to have all the rest of *North-America* your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of *Boston* have roused and associated every colony, from *Nova-Scotia* to *Georgia*. Your province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political interests. For their own sakes, they never will desert or betray you. Be assured, that the happiness of a people inevitably depends on their liberty, and their spirit to assert it. The value and extent of

the advantages tendered to you are immense. Heaven grant you may not discover them to be blessings, after they have bid you an eternal adieu."

WE are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know, that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause, above all such low minded infirmities. The *Swiss* cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of roman catholic and protestant states, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.

SHOULD there be any among you, as there generally are in all societies, who prefer the favours of ministers, and their own private interests, to the welfare of their country, the temper of such selfish persons will render them incredibly active in opposing all public-spirited measures, from an expectation of being well rewarded for their sordid industry, by their superiors ; but we doubt not you will be upon your guard against such men, and not sacrifice the liberty and happiness of the whole

Canadian people and their posterity, to gratify the avarice and ambition of individuals.

WE do not ask you, by this address, to commence acts of hostility against the government of our common sovereign. We only invite you to consult your own glory and welfare, and not to suffer yourselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous ministers, so far, as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism; but to unite with us in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and cemented by such an exchange of beneficial and endearing offices as to render it perpetual. In order to complete this highly desirable union, we submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be expedient for you to meet together in your several towns and districts, and elect deputies, who afterwards meeting in a provincial congress, may choose delegates, to represent your province in the continental congress, to be held at *Philadelphia*, on the *tenth* day of *May*, 1775.

IN this present congress, beginning on the *fifth* of the last month, and continued to this day, it has been, with universal pleasure, and an unanimous vote, resolved, that we should consider the violation of your rights, by the act for altering the government of your province, as a violation of our own,

and that you should be invited to accede to our confederation, which has no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with *Great-Britain*, on the salutary and constitutional principles herein before mentioned. For effecting these purposes, we have addressed an humble and loyal petition to his majesty, praying relief of our and your grievances ; and have associated to stop all importations from *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, after the *first* day of *December*, and all exportations to those kingdoms and the *West-Indies* after the *tenth* day of next *September* : unless the said grievances are redressed.

THAT Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures, to add yourselves to us, to put your fate, whenever you suffer injuries which you are determined to oppose, not on the small influence of your single province, but on the consolidated powers of *North-America* ; and may grant to our joint exertions, an event as happy as our cause is just, is the fervent prayer of us, your sincere and affectionate friends and fellow-subjects.

By order of the congress,

HENRY MIDDLETON, *President.*

THE
PETITION OF CONGRESS.

TO THE
KING's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania*, the counties of *New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina*, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these colonies, ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies ; and this army, with a considerable naval armament has been employed to inforce the collection of taxes.

THE authority of the commander in chief, and under him of the brigadiers-general has, in time of peace, been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in *America*.

THE commander in chief of all your majesty's forces in *North-America* has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony.

THE charges of usual offices have been greatly increased ; and, new, expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

THE judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts, are impowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves.

THE officers of the customs are impowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on legal information.

THE judges of courts of common law have been made intirely dependent on one part of the legisla-

ture for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

COUNCELLORS holding their commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

HUMBLE and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless.

THE agents of the people have been discountenanced, and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

ASSEMBLIES have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

COMMERCE has been burthened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several acts of parliament made in the *fourth*, *fifth*, *sixth*, *seventh*, and *eighth* years of your majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of raising a revenue ; and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers, are exempted from paying damages, to

which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners, before they are allowed to defend their right.

BOTH houses of parliament have resolved, that colonists may be tried in *England*, for offences alleged to have been committed in *America*, by virtue of a statute passed in the *thirty-fifth* year of *Henry the eighth*; and in consequence thereof attempts have been made to enforce that statute.

A statute was passed in the *twelfth* year of your majesty's reign, directing, that persons charged with committing any offence therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

IN the last session of parliament, an act was passed for blocking up the harbour of *Boston*; another empowering the governor of the *Massachusetts-Bay* to send persons indicted for murder in that province, to another colony, or even to *Great-Britain* for trial, whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a third for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province; and a fourth for extending the limits of *Quebec*, abolish-

ing the *English*, and restoring the *French* laws, whereby great numbers of *British* freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman catholic religion throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free, protestant, *English* settlements; and a fifth for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in *North-America*.

To a sovereign, who glories in the name of *Briton*; the bare recital of these acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects who fly to the foot of his throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them.

FROM this destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears, and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction: and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between *Great-Britain* and these colonies, from an earlier period, or from other causes, than we have assigned. Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us by those we revere.

But so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one to receive injuries, and be sensible of them.

HAD our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But, thanks be to his adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the *British* throne to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility, that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing, they received from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious house of *Brunswick* to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

THE apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre-eminent rank of *English* freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly fore-see the miseries preparing

for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

DUTY to your majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to intreat your royal attention; and as your majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your *American* subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints.

THESE sentiments are extorted from hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your majesty's service.—Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alledged of taking our property from us without our consent, “to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection, and security of the colonies.” But we beg leave to assure your majesty, that such provision has been, and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the legislatures of the several colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances : and for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militias, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they ever have been, when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies, and raising forces.—Yielding to no *British* subjects in affectionate attachment to your majesty's person, family, and government; we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honourable to the prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

HAD we been permitted to enjoy, in quiet, the inheritance left us by our fore-fathers, we should, at this time, have been peaceably, cheerfully, and usefully employed in recommending ourselves, by every testimony of devotion, to your majesty, and of veneration to the state, from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress, by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs we have hitherto, with filial reverence, constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience ; yet, we doubt not, the purity of our intention, and the integrity of our conduct, will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

WE ASK BUT FOR PEACE, LIBERTY, AND SAFETY. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour.—Your royal authority over us, and our connection with *Great-Britain*, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain.

FILLED with sentiments of duty to your majesty, and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our

reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in *America*——extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty——trying persons in *Great-Britain* for offences alledged to be committed in *America*——affecting the province of *Massachusetts-Bay*—and altering the government and extending the limits of *Quebec*; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between *Great-Britain* and these colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your majesty and parliament, we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting, that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard, we have been accustomed, in our happier days, to enjoy. For appealing to that Being, who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive, than a dread of impending destruction.

PERMIT us then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in *America*, with

the utmost humility to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion, our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses, that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be farther violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that if attained, never can compensate for the calamities, through which they must be gained.

WE therefore most earnestly beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief, and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

THAT your majesty may enjoy every felicity, through a long and glorious reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your decendents may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer.

DECLARATION

"The address of congress to the king, is penned with extraordinary force and animation, in many parts rising to a very high strain of eloquence.

"It is difficult to conceive how this address could be read without exciting in the breasts, even of the most obdurate, strong emotions of compunction and remorse."

BELSHAM'S Memoirs of the reign of Geo. 3. page 65.

THE DECLARATION

BY THE
REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH-AMERICA,

Now met in congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity
of their taking up arms.—July 6th, 1775.



IF it was possible for men, who exercise their reason to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the parliament of *Great-Britain* some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince

all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of *Great-Britain*, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms.—Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

OUR forefathers, inhabitants of the island of *Great-Britain*, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of *America*, then filled with numerous and warlike

nations of barbarians.—Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of *Great-Britain* in the late war, publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.—Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels.—From that fatal moment, the affairs of the *British* empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions, that now shake it to its deepest foundations.—The new ministry finding the brave foes of *Britain*, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

THESE devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without blood-

shed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder.—The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations.—Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property ; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits ; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury in cases affecting both life and property ; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies ; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another ; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown ; for exempting the “murderers” of colonists from legal trial, and in effect,

from punishment ; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of *Great-Britain* and *America*, a despotism dangerous to our very existence ; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to *England* to be tried.

BUT why should we enumerate our injuries in detail ? By one statute it is declared, that parliament can “ of right make laws to bind us *in all cases whatsoever*.” What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power ? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us ; or is subject to our controul or influence ; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an *American* revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion, as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants ; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

ADMINISTRATION sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought

to do, sent over fleets and armies to inforce them. The indignation of the *Americans* was roused, it is true ; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A congress of delegates from the united colonies was assembled at *Philadelphia*, on the *fifth* day of last *September*. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the king, and also addressed our fellow subjects of *Great-Britain*. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure ; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty.—This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy : but subsequent events have shewn, how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

SEVERAL threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his majesty's speech ; our petition, tho' we were told it was a decent one, and that his majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houses among a bundle of *American* papers, and there neglected. The lords and commons in their address, in the month of *February*, said, that “a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of *Massachu-*

setts-Bay; and that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies; and therefore they besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to inforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature."—Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were intirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance; and large re-inforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to general *Gage*.

FRUITLESS were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on.—Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of *London*, of *Bristol*, and many other respectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations where colony should bid against colony, all of them

uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives ; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies ? In our circumstances to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, general *Gage*, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of *Boston*, in the province of *Massachusetts-Bay*, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of *April*, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of *Lexington*, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of *Concord*, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities, thus com-

menced by the *British* troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation.—The inhabitants of *Boston* being confined within that town by the general their governor, and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers ; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them ; and those who have been used to live in plenty and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The general, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of *June*, after venting the grossest false-

hoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to “declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial.”—His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt *Charlestown*, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

WE have received certain intelligence, that general *Carleton* the governor of *Canada*, is instigating the people of that province and the *Indians* to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force.—The latter is our choice.—WE HAVE COUNTED THE COST OF THIS CONTEST, AND FIND NOTHING SO DREADFUL AS VOLUNTARY SLAVERY.—Honour, justice,

and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

OUR cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.—We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favour towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified by these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, DECLARE, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

LEST this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored.——Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them.——We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from *Great-Britain*, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence.——*They* boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

IN our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our fore-fathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not be before.

WITH an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

“About the tenth of July, the declaration of congress, setting forth the reasons of their taking up arms, was proclaimed at the head of the several divisions. It concluded with these patriotic and noble sentiments. “In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth right, and which we ever enjoyed until the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed, shall be removed, and not before.

“With an humble confidence, in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby, to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.”—As soon as these memorable words were pronounced to general Putnam’s division, which he had ordered to be paraded on Prospect-Hill, they shouted in three huzzas a loud AMEN !”

HUMPHREYS’S life of General Putnam.

SECOND

PETITION OF CONGRESS.



TO THE

KING's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island* and *Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania*, the counties of *New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex* on *Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina*, and *South-Carolina*, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, intreat your majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

THE union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just go-

vernment, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld *Great-Britain* rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

HER rivals, observing that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

IN the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of *Great-Britain* and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union, hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and war-like enemies to a greater distance.

AT the conclusion therefore of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by *British* arms, your loyal colonists

having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your majesty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

WHILE these recent and honourable acknowledgements of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature the parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

NOR were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their mother country. For though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of *Great-Britain*.

WE shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices, practised by many of your majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities that have from time to time been dealt out by them, in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing thro' a series of years past, the progress of the unhappy differences between *Great-Britain* and these colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

YOUR majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

KNOWING to what violent resentments, and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safe-

ty, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the *British* empire.

THUS called upon to address your majesty on affairs of such moment to *America*, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office, with the utmost deference for your majesty ; and we therefore pray, that your majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable constructions of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion.— Could we represent in their full force, the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect, with a just attention to our own preservation against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

ATTACHED to your majesty's person, family, and government, with all devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with *Great-Britain* by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and

deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty, that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory, that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave farther to assure your majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have

ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your majesty and of our mother country.

WE therefore beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions, with all humility submitting to your majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient for facilitating those important purposes, that your majesty be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation ; and that, in the mean time, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your majesty's subjects ; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your majesty's colonies, may be repealed.

For by such arrangements as your majesty's wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your *American* people, we are convinced your majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their sovereign and parent state, that the wished for opportunity

would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects, and the most affectionate colonists.

THAT your majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendents may govern your dominions with honour to themselves, and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer.

“ These several addresses (to the people of *Ireland*, the assembly of *Jamaica*, &c.) were executed in a masterly manner, and were well calculated to make friends to the colonies. But their petition to the king, which was drawn up at the same time, produced more solid advantages in favour of the American cause, than any other of their productions. This was in a great measure carried through congress, by mr. Dickinson. Several members, judging from the violence with which parliament proceeded against the colonies, were of opinion, that farther petitions were nugatory ; but this worthy citizen, a friend to both countries, and devoted to a reconciliation on constitutional principles, urged the *expediency* and *policy* of trying once more the effect of an humble, decent, and firm petition, to the common head of the empire. The high opinion that was conceived of his patriotism and abilities, induced the members to assent to the measure, though they generally conceived it to be labour lost.—The petition agreed upon, was the work of mr. Dickinson’s pen.”

RAMSAY’S History of the American revolution, vol. I. page 212

ADDRESS OF CONGRESS,

TO THE

SEVERAL STATES,

ON THE

PRESENT SITUATION OF AFFAIRS.

To the inhabitants of the United States of America.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

THE present situation of public affairs demands your most serious attention, and particularly the great and increasing depreciation of your currency requires the immediate, strenuous and united efforts of all true friends to their country, for preventing an extension of the mischiefs that have already flowed from that source.

AMERICA, without arms, ammunition, discipline, revenue, government or ally, almost totally stripped of commerce, and in the weakness of youth, as it were with a “staff and a sling” only, dared “in the name of the Lord of Hosts” to engage a gigantic adversary, prepared at all points, boasting

of his strength, and of whom even mighty warriors
 “ were greatly afraid.”

For defraying the expences of this uncommon war, your representatives in congress were obliged to emit paper money ; an expedient that you knew to have been before generally and successfully practised on this continent.

THEY were very sensible of the inconveniences with which too frequent emissions would be attended, and endeavoured to avoid them. For this purpose they established loan-offices so early as in *October*, 1776, and have from that time to this repeatedly and earnestly solicited you to lend them money on the faith of the United States. The sums received on loan have nevertheless proved inadequate to the public exigencies. Our enemies prosecuting the war by sea and land with implacable fury, and with some success, taxation at home and borrowing abroad, in the midst of difficulties and dangers, were alike impracticable. Hence the continued necessity of new emissions.

BUT to this cause alone we do not impute the evil before mentioned. We have too much reason to believe it has been in part owing to the artifices of men who have hastened to enrich themselves by monopolizing the necessaries of life, and to the

misconduct of inferior officers employed in the public service.

THE variety and importance of the business intrusted to your delegates, and their constant attendance in congress, necessarily disables them from investigating disorders of this kind. Justly apprehensive of them, they by their several resolutions of the 22d of *November* and 20th of *December*, 1777, and of the 3d and 9th of *February*, 1778, recommended to the legislative and executive powers of these states, a due attention to these interesting affairs.—How far those recommendations have been complied with we will not undertake to determine : but we hold ourselves bound in duty to you to declare, that we are not convinced there has been as much diligence used in detecting and reforming abuses, as there has been in committing or complaining of them.

WITH regard to monopolizers, it is our opinion that taxes judiciously laid on such articles as become the objects of engrossers, and those frequently collected, would operate against the pernicious tendency of such practices.

As to inferior officers employed in the public service, we ANXIOUSLY desire to call your most vigilant attention to their conduct, with respect to

every species of misbehaviour, whether proceeding from ignorance, negligence or fraud, and to the making of laws for inflicting exemplary punishments on all offenders of this kind.

WE are sorry to hear that some persons are so slightly informed of their own interests, as to suppose that it is advantageous to them to sell the produce of their farms at enormous prices, when a little reflection might convince them that it is injurious to those interests and the general welfare. If they expect thereby to purchase imported goods cheaper, they will be egregiously disappointed; for the merchants who know they cannot obtain returns in gold, silver, or bills of exchange, but that their vessels, if loaded here at all, must be loaded with produce, will raise the price of what they have to sell, in proportion to the price of what they have to buy; and consequently the land-holder can purchase no more foreign goods for the same quantity of his produce, than he could before.

THE evil however does not stop at this point. The landholder by acting on this mistaken calculation, is only labouring to accumulate an immense debt, by increasing the public expences, for the payment of which his estate is engaged, and to embarrass every measure adopted for vindicating his liberty, and securing his prosperity.

As the harvests of this year, which by the Divine Goodness promise to be plentiful, will soon be gathered, and some new measures relating to your foreign concerns, with some arrangements relating to your domestic, are now under consideration, from which beneficial effects are expected, we entertain hopes that your affairs will acquire a much greater degree of regularity and energy, than they have hitherto had.

BUT we should be highly criminal, if we did not plainly tell you that those hopes are not founded wholly upon our own proceedings. These must be supported by your virtue, your wisdom and your diligence. From the advantage of those seats in the national council with which you have honoured us, we have a pleasing prospect of many blessings approaching this our native land. It is your patriotism must introduce and fix them here.

IN vain will it be for your delegates to form plans of economy, to strive to stop a continuation of emissions by taxation or loan, if you do not zealously co-operate, with them in promoting their designs, and use your utmost industry to prevent the waste of money in the expenditure, which your

respective situations in the several places, where it is expended, may enable you to do. A discharge of this duty, and a compliance with recommendations for supplying money, might enable congress to give speedy assurances, to the public, that no more emissions shall take place, and thereby close that source of depreciation.

YOUR governments being now established, and your ability to contend with your invaders ascertained, we have on the most mature deliberation, judged it indispensably necessary to call upon you for forty-five millions of dollars, in addition to the fifteen millions required by a resolution of congress of the *second* of *January* last, to be paid into the continental treasury before the *first* day of *January* next, in the same proportion, as to the quotas of the several states, with that for the said fifteen millions.

It appeared proper to us to fix the *first* day of next *January* for the payment of the whole; but as it is probable that some states, if not all, will raise part of the sums by instalments or otherwise, before that time, we recommend in the strongest manner, the paying as much as can be collected as soon as possible into the continental treasury.

THOUGH it is manifest, that moderate taxation in times of peace, will recover the credit of your cur-

rency, yet the encouragement which your enemies derive from its depreciation, and the present exigencies, demand great and speedy exertions.

WE are persuaded you will use all possible care to make the promotion of the general welfare interfere as little as may be with the ease and comfort of individuals : but though the raising these sums should press heavily on some of our constituents, yet the obligations we feel to your venerable clergy, the truly helpless widows and orphans, your most gallant, generous, meritorious officers and soldiers, the public faith, and the commonweal, so irresistably urge us to attempt the appreciation of your currency, that we cannot withhold obedience to those authoritative sensations.

ON this subject we will only add, that as the rules of justice are most pleasing to our infinitely good and gracious Creator, and an adherence to them most likely to obtain his favour, so they will ever be found to be the best and safest maxims of human policy.

To our constituents we submit the propriety and purity of our intentions, well knowing they will not forget, that we lay no burthens upon them, but those in which we participate with them—a happy sympathy, that pervades societies formed on

the basis of equal liberty. Many cares, many labours, and may we not add, reproaches, are peculiar to us. These are the emoluments of our unsolicited stations ; and with these we are content, if YOU approve our conduct. If you do not, we shall return to our private condition with no other regret, than that which will arise from our not having served you as acceptably and essentially, as we wished and strove to do, though as cheerfully and faithfully as we could.

THINK not we despair of the commonwealth, or endeavour to shrink from opposing difficulties. No. Your cause is too good, your objects too sacred to be relinquished. We tell you truths, because you are freemen who can bear to hear them, and may profit by them : and when they reach your enemies, we fear not the consequences, because we are not ignorant of their resources or our own. Let your good sense decide upon the comparison. Let even their prejudiced understandings decide upon it, and you need not be apprehensive of the determination.

WHATEVER supposed advantages from plans of rapine, projects of blood, or dreams of domination, may heretofore have amused their inflamed fancies, the conduct of one monarch, the friend and protector of the rights of mankind, has turned the

scale so much against them, that their visionary schemes vanish as the unwholesome vapours of night before the healthful influences of the sun.

AN alliance has been formed between his most christian majesty and these states, on the basis of the most perfect equality, for the direct end of maintaining effectually their liberty, sovereignty and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as of commerce. The conduct of our good and great ally towards us, in this instance and others, has so fully manifested his sincerity and kindness, as to excite on our part correspondent sentiments of confidence and affection.

OBSERVING the interests of his kingdom, to which duty and inclination prompted his attention, to be connected with those of America, and the combination of both clearly to coincide with the beneficent designs of the Author of nature, who unquestionably intended men to partake of certain rights and portions of happiness, his majesty perceived the attainment of these views to be founded on the single proposition of a separation between *America* and *Great-Britain*.

THE resentment and confusion of your enemies, will point out to you the ideas you should entertain of the magnanimity and consummate wisdom of his most christian majesty on this occasion.

THEY perceive, that selecting this grand and just idea from all those specious ones that might have confused or misled inferior judgment or virtue, and satisfied with the advantages which must result from that event alone, he has cemented the harmony between himself and these states, not only by establishing a reciprocity of benefits, but by eradicating every cause of jealousy and suspicion. They also perceive with similar emotions, that the moderation of our ally, in not desiring an acquisition of dominion on this continent, or an exclusion of other nations from a share of its commercial advantages, so useful to them, has given no ALARM to those nations, but in fact has INTERESTED them in the accomplishment of his generous undertaking to dissolve the monopoly thereof by *Great-Britain*, which has already contributed to elevate her to her present power and haughtiness, and threatened if continued, to raise both to a height *insupportable to the rest of Europe*.

IN short, their own best informed statesmen and writers confess, that your cause is exceedingly favoured by courts and people in that quarter of the world, while that of your adversaries is equally reprobated ; and from thence draw ominous and well grounded conclusions, that the final event must prove unfortunate to the latter. Indeed we have the BEST reason to believe that we shall soon

form other alliances, and on principles honourable and beneficial to these states.

INFATUATED as your enemies have been from the beginning of this contest, do you imagine they can now flatter themselves with a hope of conquering you, unless you are false to yourselves ?

WHEN unprepared, undisciplined, and unsupported, you opposed their fleets and armies in full conjoined force, then, if at any time, was conquest to be apprehended. Yet what progress towards it have their violent and incessant efforts made ? Judge from their own conduct. Having devoted you to bondage, and after vainly wasting their blood and treasure in the dishonourable enterprize, they deigned at length to offer terms of accommodation, with respectful addresses, to that once despised body, the congress, whose humble supplications ONLY for peace, liberty and safety, they had contemptuously rejected, under pretence of its being an unconstitutional assembly. Nay more ; desirous of seducing you into a deviation from the paths of rectitude, from which they had so far and so rashly wandered, they made most specious offers to tempt you into a violation of your faith given to your illustrious ally. Their arts were as unavailing as their arms.—Foiled again, and stung with rage, imbibtered by envy, they had no alternative,

but to renounce the inglorious and ruinous controversy, or to resume their former modes of prosecuting it. They chose the latter. Again the savages are stimulated to horrid massacres of women and children, and domestics to the murder of their masters. Again our brave and unhappy brethren are doomed to miserable deaths, in goals and prisonships. To complete the sanguinary system, all the “EXTREMITIES of war” are by authority denounced against you.

PIOUSLY endeavour to derive this consolation from their remorseless fury, that “the Father of Mercies” looks down with disapprobation on such audacious defiances of his holy laws ; and be further comforted with recollecting, that the arms assumed by you in your righteous cause have not been sullied by any unjustifiable severities.

YOUR enemies despairing however, as it seems, of the success of their united forces against our main army, have divided them, as if their design was to harrass you by predatory, desultory operations. If you are assiduous in improving opportunities, *Saratoga* may not be the only spot on this continent to give a new denomination to the baffled troops of a nation, impiously priding herself in notions of her omnipotence.

ROUSE yourselves therefore, that this campaign may finish the great work you have so nobly carried on for several years past. What nation ever engaged in such a contest under such a complication of disadvantages, so soon surmounted many of them, and in so short a period of time had so certain a prospect of a speedy and happy conclusion. We will venture to pronounce, that so remarkable an instance exists not in the annals of mankind. We well remember what you said at the commencement of this war. You saw the immense difference between your circumstances, and those of your enemies, and you knew the quarrel must decide on no less than your lives, liberties, and estates. All these you greatly put to every hazard, resolving rather to die freemen than to live slaves ; and justice will oblige the impartial world to confess you have uniformly acted on the same generous principle. Consider how much you have done, and how comparatively little remains to be done to crown you with success. Persevere ; and you insure peace, freedom, safety, glory, sovereignty, and felicity to yourselves, your children, and your children's children.

ENCOURAGED by favours already received from Infinite Goodness, gratefully acknowledging them, earnestly imploring their continuance, constantly

endeavouring to draw them down on your heads by an amendment of your lives, and a conformity to the Divine will, humbly confiding in the protection so often and wonderfully experienced, vigorously employ the means placed by Providence in your hands, for compleating your labours.

FILL up your battalions——be prepared in every part to repel the incursions of your enemies——place your several quotas in the continental treasury——lend money for public uses——sink the emissions of your respective states——provide effectually for expediting the conveyance of supplies for your armies and fleets, and for your allies——prevent the produce of the country from being monopolized——effectually superintend the behaviour of public officers——diligently promote piety, virtue, brotherly love, learning, frugality and moderation——and may you be approved before Almighty God, worthy of those blessings we devoutly wish you to enjoy.

DONE in congress by unanimous consent,
this 26th day of *May*, one thousand seven
hundred and seventy-nine.

JOHN JAY, PRESIDENT.

Attest,

CHARLES THOMSON, secretary.

THE
LETTERS
OF
F A B I U S,
IN 1788,
ON THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION ;
AND
IN 1797,
ON THE PRESENT SITUATION
OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS:
WITH
ADDITIONAL NOTES.

THE
EDITOR OF THE EDITION IN 1797,
TO THE PUBLIC.

THE *first nine letters in this collection, published in the beginning of the year 1788, were occasioned by an alarming hesitation of some states to ratify the constitution, proposed by the federal convention, in 1787.*

They appeared separately in news-papers ; and have never been published together, before the present edition.

Some notes are added of extracts from " THE RIGHTS OF MAN," published about three years after these Letters, containing similar sentiments, expressed with a remarkable resemblance of language, especially on the two great subjects—the

ORGANIZATION of a CONSTITUTION from original rights, and the FORMATION of GOVERNMENT from contributed rights, both of so much importance in laying regular FOUNDATIONS of civil society, and consequently in securing the advancement of HUMAN HAPPINESS.

The last set of letters was caused by the extraordinary call of congress, on the twenty-fifth day of March, 1797.

THE
LETTERS
OF
FABIUS:
CONTAINING,
OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION
PROPOSED BY THE
FEDERAL CONVENTION.

LETTER I.

THE constitution proposed by the federal convention, now engages the fixed attention of *America*.

EVERY person appears to be affected. Those who wish the adoption of the plan, consider its rejection as the source of endless contests, confusions, and misfortunes; and they also consider a resolution to alter, without previously adopting it, as a rejection.

Those who oppose the plan, are influenced by different views. Some of them are friends, others of them are enemies, to *the United States*. The latter are of two classes ; either men without principles or fortunes, who think they may have a chance to mend their circumstances, *with impunity*, under a *weak government*, or in *public convulsions*, but cannot make them worse even by the last—or men who have been always averse to the revolution ; and though at first confounded by that event, yet, their hopes reviving with the declension of our affairs, have since persuaded themselves that at length the people, tired out with their continued distresses, will return to their former connection with *Great-Britain*. To argue with these opposers would be vain.—The other opposers of the plan deserve the highest respect.

WHAT concerns all, should be considered by all ; and individuals may injure a whole society, by not declaring their sentiments. It is therefore not only their *right*, but their *duty*, to declare them. Weak advocates of a good cause, or artful advocates of a bad one, may endeavour to stop such communications, or to discredit them by clamour and calumny. This, however, is not the age for such tricks of controversy. Men have suffered so severely by being deceived upon subjects of the

highest import, those of *religion* and *freedom*, that TRUTH becomes infinitely valuable to them, not as a matter of curious speculation, but of beneficial practice—a spirit of inquiry is excited, information diffused, judgment strengthened.

BEFORE this tribunal of THE PEOPLE, let every one freely speak, what he really thinks, but with so sincere a reverence for the cause he ventures to discuss, as to use the utmost caution, lest he should lead any into errors, upon a point of such sacred concern as *the public happiness*.

It is not the design of this address to describe the present derangement of our affairs, the mischiefs that must ensue from its continuance, the horrors of a total dissolution of the union, or of the division of it into partial confederacies. Nor is it intended to describe the evils that will result from pursuing the plan of another federal convention; as if a better temper of conciliation, or a more satisfactory harmony of decisions, could be expected from men, after their minds are agitated with disgusts and disappointments, than before they were thus disturbed; though from an uncontradicted assertion it appears, that without such provoca-

tions, the difficulty of reconciling the interests of the several states was so near to INSUPERABLE, in the late convention, that after many weeks spent in the most faithful labours to promote concord, the members were upon the very point of dispersing in the utmost disorder, jealousy and resentment, and leaving the states exposed to all the tempests of passions, that have been so fatal to confederacies of republics.

ALL these things, with observations on particular articles of the constitution, have been laid before the public, and the writer of this address means not to repeat what has been already said. What he wishes, is to *simplify* the subject, so as to facilitate the inquiries of his fellow-citizens.

MANY are the objections made to the system proposed. They should be distinguished. Some may be called *local*, because they spring from the supposed interests of individual states. Thus, for instance, some inhabitants of large states may desire the system to be so altered, that they may possess more authority in the decisions of the government: or some inhabitants of commercial states may desire it to be so altered, that the advantages of trade may center almost wholly among themselves; and this predilection they may think com-

patible with the common welfare. Their judgment being thus warped, at the beginning of their deliberations, objections are accumulated as very important, that, without this prepossession, would never have obtained their approbation. Certain it is, that strong understandings may be so influenced by this insulated patriotism, as to doubt—whether general benefits can be communicated by a general government.*

PROBABLY nothing would operate so much for the correction of these errors, as the perusal of the accounts transmitted to us by the ancients, of the calamities occasioned in *Greece* by a conduct founded on similar mistakes. They are expressly ascribed to this cause—that *each city meditated a part on its own profit and ends—insomuch that those who seemed to contend for union, could never relinquish their own interests and advancement, while they deliberated for the public.*

HEAVEN grant! that our countrymen may pause in time——duly estimate the present moment——and solemnly reflect——whether their measures may not tend to draw down the same distractions upon us, that desolated *Greece*.

* See some late publications.

THEY may now tolerably judge from the proceedings of the federal convention and of other conventions, what are the sentiments of *America* upon her present and future prospects. Let the voice of her distress be venerated—and adhering to the generous *Virginian* declaration, let them resolve to “*cling to union as the political rock of our salvation.*”

FABIUS.

Philadelphia, April 10, 1788.

L E T T E R II.

BUT besides the objections originating from the before mentioned cause, that have been called *local*, there are other objections that are supposed to arise from *maxims of liberty and policy*.—

HENCE it is inferred, that the proposed system has such inherent vices, as must necessarily produce a bad administration, and at length the oppression of a monarchy and aristocracy in the federal officers.

THE writer of this address being convinced by as exact an investigation as he could make, that such mistakes may lead to the perdition of his country, esteems it his indispensable duty, strenuously to contend, that—the *power of the people* pervading the proposed system, by frequent elections, together with the *strong confederation of the states*, forms an adequate security against *every* danger that has been apprehended.

IF this single assertion can be supported by facts and arguments, there will be reason to hope, that anxieties will be removed from the minds of some

citizens, who are truly devoted to the interests of *America*, and who have been thrown into perplexities, by the mazes of multiplied and intricate disquisitions.

THE objectors agree, that the *confederation of the states will be strong*, according to the system proposed, and *so strong*, that many of them loudly complain of that strength. On this part of the assertion, there is no dispute: but some of the objections that have been published, strike at another part of the principle assumed, and deny, that the system is sufficiently founded on *the power of the people*.

THE course of regular inquiry demands, that *these* objections should be considered in the first place. If *they* are removed, then *all the rest* of the objections, concerning unnecessary taxations, standing armies, the abolishment of trial by jury, the liberty of the press, the freedom of commerce, the judicial, executive, and legislative authorities of the several states, and the rights of citizens, and the other abuses of federal government, must, of consequence, be rejected, if the principle contains the salutary, purifying, and preserving qualities attributed to it. The question then will be—*not what may be done, when the government shall*

be turned into a tyranny ; but how the government can be so turned ?

THUS unembarrassed by subordinate discussions, we may come fairly to the contemplation of *that* superior point, and be better enabled to discover, whether our attention to it will afford any lights, whereby we may be conducted to *peace, liberty, and safety.*

THE objections, denying that the system proposed is sufficiently founded on *the power of the people*, state, that the *number* of the federal trustees or officers, is too *small*, and that they are to hold their *offices too long.*

ONE would really have supposed, that *smallness of number* could not be termed a cause of danger, as *influence* must increase with *enlargement.* If this is a fault, it will soon be corrected, as an addition will be often made to the number of the *senators*, and, a much greater and more frequently, to that of the *representatives* ; and in all probability much sooner, than we shall be able and willing to bear the expence of the addition.

As to the *senate*, it never can be, and it never ought to be large, if it is to possess the powers, which almost all the objectors seem inclined to al-

lot to it, as will be evident to every intelligent person, who considers those powers.

THOUGH small, let it be remembered, that it is to be created by the *sovereignties* of the several states; that is, by the persons, whom *the people* of each state shall judge to be *most worthy*, and who, surely, will be religiously attentive to making a selection, in which the interest and honour of their state will be so deeply concerned. It should be remembered too, that this is *the same manner*, in which the members of congress are *now* appointed; and that *herein*, the *sovereignties* of the states are so intimately involved, that however a *renunciation* of part of these powers may be desired by *some of the states*, it NEVER will be obtained from *the rest* of them. Peaceable, fraternal, and benevolent as *these* are, they think, the concessions *they* have made, ought to satisfy *all*.

THAT the *senate* may always be kept *full*, without the interference of congress, it is provided in the system, that if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next meeting of the legislature, which *shall* then fill up such vacancies.

As to the *house of representatives*, it is to consist of a number of persons, not exceeding one for every thirty thousand : but each state shall have at least one representative. The electors will reside, widely dispersed, over an extensive country. Cabal and corruption will be as impracticable, as, on such occasions, human institutions can render them. *The will of freemen*, thus circumstanced, will give the *fiat*. The purity of election thus obtained, will amply compensate for the supposed defect of representation ; and the members, *thus chosen*, will be most apt to harmonize in their proceedings with *the general* interests, feelings, and sentiments of the people.

ALLOWING such an increase of population as, from experience and a variety of causes, may be expected, the *representatives*, in a short period, will amount to several hundreds, and most probably long before any change of manners for the worse, that might tempt or encourage our rulers to mal-administration, will take place on this continent.

THAT *this house* may always be kept full, without the interference of congress, it is provided in the system, that when vacancies happen in any state,

the executive authority thereof *shall* issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

BUT, it seems, the number of the federal officers is not only too small : they are to hold their offices *too long*.

THIS objection surely applies not to *the house of representatives*, who are to be chosen *every two years*, especially if the extent of empire, and the vast variety and importance of their deliberations, be considered. In that view, *they* and *the senate* will actually be not only *legislative* but also *diplo-matic* bodies, perpetually engaged in the arduous task of reconciling, in their determinations, the interests of several *sovereign* states, not to insist on the necessity of a competent knowledge of *foreign* affairs, relative to the states.

THEY who desire the *representatives* to be chosen *every year*, should exceed *Newton* in calculations, if they attempt to evince, that the public business would, in that case, be better transacted, than when they are chosen *every two years*. The idea, however, should be excused for the zeal that prompted it.

Is monarchy or aristocracy to be produced, without the consent of the people, by a *house of representatives* thus constituted ?

IT has been unanimously agreed by the friends of liberty, that FREE AND FREQUENT ELECTIONS OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE, ARE THE SOVEREIGN REMEDY OF ALL GRIEVANCES IN GOVERNMENT.—Let us pass on to the senate.

AT the end of two years after the first election, *one third* is to be elected for *six* years; and at the end of *four* years, another third. Thus one third will constantly have but *four* years, and another but *two* years to continue in office. ——— The whole number at first will amount to *twenty-six*, will be regularly *renovated* by the *biennial* election of *one third*, and will be *overlooked*, and *overawed* by the house of *representatives*, nearly three times more numerous at the beginning, rapidly and vastly augmenting, and more enabled to overlook and overawe them, by holding *their* offices for *two* years, as thereby they will acquire better information, respecting national affairs. — These *representatives* will also command the public purse, as *all* bills for raising revenue, must originate in their house.

As in the *Roman* armies, when the *Principes* and *Hastati* had failed, there were still the *Triarii*, who generally put things to rights, so we shall be supplied with another resource.

WE are to have a *president*, to *superintend*, and if he thinks the public weal requires it, to *controul* any act of the *representatives* and *senate*.

THIS president is to be chosen, not by the people at large, because it may not be possible, that all the freemen of the empire should always have the necessary information, for directing their choice of such an officer; nor by congress, lest it should disturb the national councils; nor *by any one standing body whatever*, for fear of undue influence.

HE is to be chosen in the following manner.— Each state shall appoint, as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of *electors*, equal to *the whole number of senators and representatives*, to which the state shall be intitled in congress: but no *senator* or *representative*, or *person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States*, shall be appointed an elector. As these electors are to be appointed, as the legislature of each state may direct, the fairest, freest opening is given, for each state to choose such *electors* for this purpose, as shall be most signally qualified to fulfil the trust.

To guard against undue influence, these electors thus chosen, are to meet *in their respective states*, and vote *by ballot*; and still further to guard against it, congress may determine the *time of choosing the*

electors, and the days on which they shall give their votes—which day shall be the same throughout the United States. All the votes from the several states are to be transmitted to congress, and therein counted.—The president is to hold his office for four years.

WHEN these electors meet in their respective states, utterly vain will be the unreasonable suggestions derived from *partiality*. The electors may throw away their votes, mark, with public disappointment, some person improperly favoured by them, or justly revering the duties of their office, dedicate their votes to the best interests of their country.

THIS president will be no dictator. *Two thirds of the representatives and of the senate*, may pass any law, *notwithstanding his dissent*; and he is *removable and punishable* for misbehaviour.

CAN this limited, fluctuating *senate*, placed amidst such powers, if it should become willing, ever become able, to make *America* pass under its yoke? The senators will generally be inhabitants of places very distant one from another.—They can scarcely be acquainted till they meet.—Few of them can ever act together for any length of time, unless their good conduct recommends them to a

re-election ; and then there will be frequent changes in a body *dependent upon the acts of other bodies*, the legislatures of the several states, that are altering every year. *Machiavel* and *Cæsar Borgia* together could not form a conspiracy in such a senate, destructive to any but themselves and their accomplices.

It is essential to every good government that there should be *some council*, permanent enough to get a due *knowledge* of affairs internal and external ; so constituted, that by some deaths or removals, the current of *information* should not be impeded or disturbed ; and so regulated, as to be responsible to, and controulable *by the people*. Where can the authority for combining these advantages, be more *safely, beneficially, or satisfactorily* lodged, than in the senate, to be formed according to the plan proposed ? Shall parts of the trust be committed to the president, with *counsellors* who shall subscribe their advices ?* If assaults upon liberty are to be guarded against, and surely they ought to be with sleepless vigilance, (a) why should we depend more on *the commander in chief* of the army and navy of *the United States*, and of the militia of the several states, and on *his* counsellors, whom he may secretly influence, than on the se-

* See late publications.

(a) See Appendix—for the notes referred to by the *Italic* letters (a) (b) &c. respectively.

nate to be appointed by the persons exercising the *sovereign* authority of the several states ? In truth, the objections against the powers of the senate originated from a desire to have them, or at least some of them, vested in a body in which the several states should be represented, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as in the house of representatives. This method is *unattainable*, and the wish for it should be dismissed from every mind, that desires the existence of a confederation.

WHAT assurance can be given, or what probability be assigned, that a board of *counsellors* would continue honest, longer than the *senate* ? Or, that they would possess more useful information, respecting all the states, than the senators of all the states ? It appears needless to pursue this argument any further.

How varied, balanced, concordant, and benign, is the system proposed to us ? To secure the freedom, and promote the happiness of these and future states, by giving *the will of the people* a decisive influence over the whole, and over all the parts, with what a comprehensive arrangement does it embrace different modes of representation, from an election by a county to an election by an empire ? What are the complicated ballot, and all the refined devices of *Venice* for maintaining her aristocracy, when com-

pared with this plain dealing work for diffusing the blessings of *equal liberty and common prosperity*, over myriads of the human race ?

ALL the foundations before mentioned, of the federal government, are by the proposed system to be established, in the most clear, strong, positive, unequivocal expressions, of which our language is capable.——*Magna charta*, or any other law, never contained clauses more decisive and emphatic. *While the people of these states have sense, they will understand them ; and while they have spirit, they will make them to be observed.*

FABIUS.

L E T T E R III.

THE writer of this address hopes, that he will now be thought so disengaged from the objections against the principle assumed, that he may be excused for recurring to his assertion, that—*the power of the people* pervading the proposed system, together with *the strong confederation of the states*,* will form an adequate security against every danger that has been apprehended.

It is a mournful, but may be a useful truth, that the liberty of *single republics* has generally been destroyed by *some of the citizens*, and of *confederated republics*, by *some of the associated states*.

* “Hence we may conclude, so far as the experience of mankind will enable us to judge from practice, and so far as the nature of the case will strengthen our conclusion from theory, that no considerable advantage ought to be expected from the *federal* principle among states, unless the states themselves are constituted on the *representative* principle; so that the system in *both its branches* may be the work of *the people*, carried on for their benefit, by persons of their own choice, and under their controul.”

JOEL BARLOW's second letter to the people of these states—dated *Paris*, the 20th of *December*, 1799.

It is more pleasing, and may be more profitable to reflect, that, their tranquillity and prosperity have commonly been promoted, in proportion to the strength of their government for protecting *the worthy* against *the licentious*.

As in forming a political society, *each* individual contributes some of his rights, in order that he may, from *a common stock* of rights, derive *greater benefits*, than he could from merely *his own*; so, in forming a confederation, each political society should contribute such a share of their rights, as will, from *a common stock* of these rights, produce the largest quantity of benefits for *them*.

BUT, *what is that share?* and *how to be managed?* Momentous questions! Here, flattery is treason; and error, destruction.

ARE they unanswerable? No. Our most gracious *Creator* does not *condemn* us to sigh for unattainable blessedness: but one thing he *demand*s—that we should seek for happiness in *his* way, and not in *our own*.

HUMILITY and *benevolence* must take place of *pride* and *over-weening selfishness*. Reason, rising above these mists, will then discover to us, that we cannot be true to ourselves, without being true to

others—that to love not ourselves only, but our neighbours also, is to love ourselves in the best manner—that to give, is to gain—and, that we never consult our own happiness more effectually, than when we most endeavour to correspond with *the divine designs* by communicating happiness, as much as we can, to our fellow-creatures. *Inestimable truth!* sufficient, if they do not barely ask what it is, to melt tyrants into men, and to soothe the inflamed minds of a multitude into mildness—*Inestimable truth!* which our Maker in his providence, enables us, not only to talk and write about, but to adopt in practice of vast extent, and of instructive example.

LET us now inquire, if there be not some *principle, simple as the laws of nature* in other instances, from which, as from a source, the many benefits of society are deduced.

WE may with reverence say, that our *Creator* designed *men* for society,* because otherwise they cannot be happy. They cannot be happy without freedom, nor free without security; that is, without the *absence of fear*; nor thus secure, without society. The conclusion is strictly syllogistic—that men

* Society here means a body of men governed by laws made with common consent.

cannot be free without society. (*b*) The very establishment thereof infers equality ; for their rights, their objects, and their contributions are the same ; and this equal freedom is like light. It is pure ; it is gentle ; it comes from heaven ; it gives to earth its value ; and every one enjoys the whole of it.

As these premises are invincible, we have advanced a considerable way in our inquiry upon *this deeply interesting subject*. If we can determine, what share of his rights, every individual must contribute to *the common stock* of rights in forming a society, for obtaining *equal freedom*, we determine at the same time, what share of their rights each society must contribute to *the common stock* of rights in forming a confederation, which is only a larger society, for obtaining *equal freedom* : for, if the *deposit* be not proportioned to the magnitude of the association, in the latter case, it will generate the same mischief among the component parts of it, from their inequality, that would result from a defective contribution to association in the former case, among the component parts of it, from their inequality.

EACH individual then must contribute such a share of his rights, as is necessary for attaining that *security* that is essential to freedom ; and he is

bound to make this contribution by the law of his nature, which prompts him to a *participated happiness*; that is, by the command of his *Creator*; therefore, *he must submit his will, in what concerns all, to the will of all, that is of the whole society.* What does he lose by this submission? The power of doing injuries to others—and the dread of suffering injuries from them. What does he gain by it? The aid of those associated with him, for his relief from the incommodities of mental or bodily weakness—the pleasure for which his heart is formed—of doing good—*protection* against injuries—a capacity of enjoying his undelegated rights to the best advantage—a repeal of his fears—and tranquillity of mind arising from a consciousness of safety, the very essence of liberty—or in other words, that *perfect repose* better described in the holy scriptures, than any where else in these expressions——“When *every* man shall sit under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and *none* shall make him afraid.” (c)

THE like submission, with a correspondent expansion and accommodation must be made between *states*, for obtaining the like benefits in a *confederation*. MEN are the materials of both. As the largest number is but a junction of UNITS—a confederation is but an assemblage of *individuals*. The auspicious influence of that *law* of his nature, upon

which the happiness of MAN depends in society, must attend him in confederation, or he becomes unhappy; for confederation should promote the happiness of *individuals*, or it does not *answer the intended purpose*.* Herein there is a progression, not a contradiction. As MAN, he becomes a *citizen*; as a citizen, he becomes a *federalist*. The generation of one, *is not the destruction* of the other. He *carries* into society the naked rights received from nature. *These* thereby improved, he *carries* still forward into confederation. If that sacred law before mentioned, is not here observed, the confederation would not be *real*, but *pretended*. He would confide, and be deceived.†

* “ We have now traced man from a natural individual, to a member of society——civil power, properly considered as such, is made up of the *aggregate* of that class of the *natural* rights, which become defective to the individual in point of power, and *answers not his purpose*; but when collected into a focus, becomes competent to the purpose of every one.——Let us now apply those principles to government.

“ Individuals, themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a compact with each other, to produce a government; and this is the only mode in which governments have a right to arise, and the only principle on which they have a right to exist.”

RIGHTS of Man, 1791.

† “ The error of those who reason by precedent, drawn from antiquity, respecting *the rights of man*, is, that they do not go far enough into antiquity. They do not go the whole way. They stop in some of the intermediate stages of an hundred or a thousand years, and produce what was then done, as a rule for the present day. This is no authority at all. If we travel still further into antiquity, we shall find a direct contrary opinion and practice prevailing;

The expression of the general will is *the law* of confederation, as well as of society.

THE dilemma is inevitable. There must either be *one* will, or *several* wills. If but *one* will, *all* the people are concerned; if *several* wills, *few* com-

and if antiquity is to be authority, a thousand such authorities may be produced, successively contradicting each other: but if we proceed on, at last we shall come out right: we shall then come to the time when man came from the hand of his Maker. What was he then? *Man*. Man was his high and only title, and a higher cannot be given him—we are now got at the origin of man, and at *the origin of his rights*.—Every history of the creation, and every traditional account, whether from the lettered or unlettered world, however they may vary in their opinion or belief of certain particulars, all agree in establishing one point, the UNITY of man; by which I mean that man is all of *one degree*, and consequently that all men are born equal, and with *equal natural rights*. By considering man in this light, it *places him in a close connection with all his duties*, whether to his CREATOR, or to the *creation*, of which he is a part; and it is only where he forgets his ORIGIN, or, to use a more fashionable phrase, his birth and family, that he becomes dissolute.

“Hitherto we have spoken only (and that but in part) of the *natural* rights of man. We have now to consider the *civil* rights of man, and to shew *how* the one *originates* out of the other.—Man did not enter into *society*, to become *worse* than he was before, nor to have less rights than he had before, but to have *those rights better secured*. His *natural* rights are the *foundation* of all his *civil* rights. But in order to pursue this distinction with more precision, it will be necessary to mark the different qualities of *natural* and *civil* rights.

“A few words will explain this. Natural rights are those which appertain to man *in right of his existence*—civil rights are those which appertain to man *in right of his being a member of society*. Every civil right has for its foundation some natural right *pre-existing in the individual*, but to exert his individual power is not, in all cases, sufficiently competent. Of this kind are all those which relate to *security* and *protection*.

paritively are concerned in each. Surprizing! that this doctrine should be contended for by those, who declare, that the constitution is not founded on a *bottom broad enough*; and though *the whole people* of the United States are to be *trebly* represented in it, in *three different modes* of representation, and their servants will have the most advantageous situations and opportunities of acquiring all requisite information for the welfare of *the whole union*, yet insist for a privilege of *opposing, obstructing, and confounding* all their measures taken with common consent, for the general weal, by the delays, negligences, rivalries, or other selfish views of *parts* of the union.

THUS, while one state should be relied upon by the union for giving aid, upon a recommendation of congress, to another in distress, the latter might be ruined; and the state relied upon, might suppose, it would gain by such an event.

“ From this short review it will be easy to distinguish between that class of natural rights, which man retains after entering into *society*, and those which he throws into *common stock* as a member of society. The natural rights which he *retains*, are all those in which the *power* to execute is as perfect in the individual as the right itself. —The natural rights which *are not retained*, are all those in which, though the right is perfect in the individual, the power to execute them is defective: *they answer not his purpose* — those he *deposits* in the *common stock* of society, and takes the arm of society, of which he is a part, in preference and in addition to his own. Society *grants* him nothing. *Every man is a proprietor* in society, and draws on the capital as a matter of right.”

WHEN any persons speak of a confederation, do they, or do they not acknowledge, that the *whole* is interested in the safety of *every* part—in the agreement of *parts*—in the relation of *parts* to one another—to the *whole*—or, to *other societies*?—If they do—then, the *authority* of the *whole*, must be co-extensive with its *interests*—and if it is, the *will* of the *whole* must and ought in such cases to govern; or else the *whole* would have interests without an authority to manage them—a position which prejudice itself cannot digest.

If they do not acknowledge, that the *whole* is thus interested, the conversation should cease.—Such persons mean not a confederation, but something else.

As to the idea, that *this superintending sovereign will* must of consequence destroy the subordinate sovereignties of the several states, it is begging a concession of the question by inferring, that a manifest and great *usefulness* must necessarily end in *abuse*; and not only so, but it requires an abandonment of the *principle of all society*: for, the subordinate sovereignties, or, in other words, the *undellegated rights* of the several states, in a confederation, stand upon the very same foundation with the *undellegated rights* of individuals in a society, the fede-

ral sovereign will being composed of the *subordinate sovereign wills* of the several confederated states.— True it is, that to guard against disorder and danger, the line dividing between the powers of the several states, and the powers of the union, ought to be drawn with the utmost accuracy of direction, and established by the strongest marks of discrimination. Nor does any discouraging difficulty occur, in this great and sacred attempt to provide in the best manner we can, for the happiness of ourselves and our children, and of the unborn millions, whose destinies will be so deeply affected by our councils and conduct. Why should we be thus alarmed, when we know, that the rights to be delegated by the several states to the confederation, are simple, defined, and so limited to particular objects, that they cannot possibly be applied by any construction to other objects, without such a distortion of interpretation, and such a violation of propriety, as must offend every sound head and every honest heart. On this firm foundation then let us erect our *temple of hope*, and strive to be likened to a wise man who builds his house upon a rock. “The rains may descend, the floods come, the winds blow, and beat on this house: yet it *falls* not, for it is founded upon a rock.” As some persons seem to think *a bill of rights* is the best security of rights, the *sovereignities* of the several states have *this* best security by the proposed constitution,

and *more than this* best security, for *they* are not barely *declared* to be rights, but are taken into it as *component parts* for *their* perpetual preservation——by *themselves*. In short, the government of each state is, and is to be, *sovereign* and *supreme* in *all* matters that *relate* to each state *only**. It is to be *subordinate* barely in *those* matters that relate to *the whole*; and it will be their OWN FAULTS, if the several states suffer the *federal sovereignty* to interfere in things of their respective jurisdictions. An instance of such interference with regard to *any single state*, will be a dangerous *precedent as to all*, and therefore will be guarded against *by all*, as the trustees or servants of the several states will not dare, if they retain their senses, so to violate the *independent sovereignty* of their respective states, THAT JUSTLY DARLING OBJECT of *American* affections, to which they are responsible, besides being engaged by all the charities of life.

THE common sense of mankind agrees to the devolutions of individual wills *in society*, to the general will expressed by the majority; and if it

* Each state knows best, what internal regulations are most suitable for itself. The union is most competent to the affairs of the whole confederacy. This distinction comprehends ease, advantage and safety; and may be termed a heaven-taught policy, as it springs up directly from those circumstances, into which we were cast by the dispensation of Providence, prior to our confederation. Whenever we shall despise the constitution, which has been thus pointed out to us, our happiness becomes forfeited.

has not been as universally assented to *in confederation*, the reasons are evident, and worthy of being retained in remembrance by *Americans*.—They were in want of opportunities, or the loss of them, through defects of knowledge and virtue. The principle however has been sufficiently vindicated in imperfect combinations, as their prosperity has generally been commensurate to its operation.†

How beautifully and forceably does the inspired apostle *Paul*, argue upon a sublimer subject, with a train of reasoning strictly applicable to the present? His words are——“ If the foot shall say, because I am not the hand, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? and if the ear shall say, because I am not the eye, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ?” As plainly inferring, as could be done in that allegorical manner, the strongest censure of such partial discontents and dissensions, especially, as his meaning is enforced by his description of the *benefits* of *union* in these expressions——“ But, *now* they are *many members*, yet but *one body* : and the eye *cannot* say to the hand, *I have no need of thee* ; nor again, the head to the feet, *I have no need of you*.”

† *Joel Barlow* in his second letter to the people of these states, dated *Paris*, the twentieth of *December*, 1799, exemplifies this position by a comparison of the *Germanic* body, the *Swiss* cantons, the *United Netherlands*, and other instances.

WHEN the commons of *Rome* upon a rupture with the senate, seceded in arms at the *mons sacer*, *Menenius Agrippa* used the like allusion to the human body, in his famous apologue of a quarrel among some of the members. The unpolished but honest-hearted *Romans* of that day, understood him, and were appeased.

ANOTHER comparison has been made by the learned, between a natural and a political *body*; and no wonder indeed, when the title of the latter was borrowed from the resemblance. It has therefore been justly observed, that if a mortification takes place in *one or some* of the limbs, and *the rest* of the body is sound, remedies may be applied, and not only the contagion prevented from spreading, but the diseased part or parts *saved by the connection* with the body, and restored to former usefulness.—When general putrefaction prevails, death is to be expected. History, sacred and profane, tells us, that, *corruption of manners sinks nations into slavery*.

FABIUS.

L E T T E R IV.

ANOTHER question remains. *How are the contributed rights to be managed?* The resolution has been in great measure anticipated, by what has been said concerning the system proposed. Some few reflections may perhaps finish it.

IF it be considered separately, a *constitution* is the *organization of the contributed rights* in society. GOVERNMENT is the EXERCISE of them. It is intended for the benefit of *the governed*; of course can have no just powers but what conduce to *that end*: and the awfulness of the *trust* is demonstrated in this—that it is founded on the nature of man, that is, on the will of his MAKER, and is *therefore* sacred. It is then an offence against heaven, to violate that *trust*.*

* A *constitution* is not a thing in name only, but in fact—it has not an ideal but a real existence, and wherever it cannot be produced in a visible form, there is none. A *constitution* is a thing antecedent to a *government*; and a *government* is only the *creature* of a *constitution*.—A *constitution* of a country is not the act of its *government*, but of the people constituting a *government*. It is the body of elements to which you can refer, and quote article by article; and which contains the principles on which the *government* shall be established, the manner in which it shall be organized, the powers it shall have, the mode of election, the duration of parliaments, or by what other

IF the organization of a constitution be defective, it may be amended.

A good constitution promotes, but not always produces a good administration.

THE government must never be lodged in *a single body*. From such an one, *with an unlucky composition* of its parts, rash, partial, illegal, and when intoxicated with success, even cruel, insolent and contemptible edicts, may at times be expected.—By *these*, if other mischiefs do not follow, *the national dignity may be impaired*.

name such bodies may be called, the powers which the executive part of the government shall have; and, in fine, every thing that relates to the complete *organization* of a civil government, and the principles on which it shall act, and by which it shall be bound.

RIGHTS of Man, page 35, 36.

“What is a *constitution*? It is the *form of government*, delineated by the mighty hand of the people, in which certain *first principles* or fundamental laws are established. The constitution is certain and fixed; it contains the permanent will of the people, and is the supreme law of the land; it is paramount to the power of the legislature, and can be revoked or altered only by the authority that made it.—What are *legislatures*? Creatures of the *constitution*, they owe their *existence* to the *constitution*—they derive their *powers* from the *constitution*—It is their *commission*, and therefore all their acts must be conformable to it, or else void. The *constitution* is the work or *will* of the *people themselves*, in their original, sovereign, and unlimited capacity. Law is the work or will of the legislature in their derivative capacity.”

Judge Patterson's charge to the jury in the *Wioming* case of *Vanborne's* lessee against *Dorrance*; tried at the circuit-court for the United States, held at Philadelphia, April term, 1795.

SEVERAL inconveniences might attend a division of the government into *two* bodies, that probably would be avoided in another arrangement.

THE judgment of *the most enlightened* among mankind, confirmed by *multiplied experiments*, points out the propriety of government being committed to such a number of great departments, as can be introduced *without confusion, distinct in office, and yet connected in operation*. It seems to be agreed, that *three* or *four* of these departments are a competent number.

SUCH a repartition appears well calculated to express the sense of *the people*, and to increase the safety and repose of *the governed*, which, with the advancement of their happiness in other respects, are the objects of just government; as thereby there will be more obstructions interposed against errors, feuds, and frauds, in the administration, and the *extraordinary interference of the people need be less frequent*. Thus, wars, tumults, and uneasinesses, are avoided. The departments so constituted, may *therefore* be said to be *balanced*.

BUT, notwithstanding, it must be granted, that a bad administration may take place.—What is then to be done? The answer is instantly found—let the *fascies* be lowered before—the *supreme*

sovereignty of the people. It is their duty to watch, and their right to take care, that the constitution be preserved ; or in the Roman phrase on perilous occasions—to provide, that the republic receive no damage.

POLITICAL bodies are *properly* said to be *balanced*, with respect to this *primary origination* and *ultimate destination*, not to any intrinsic or constitutional properties.*—It is the *power* from which

* Constitutional properties are only, as has been observed at the beginning of this letter, parts in the organization of the contributed rights. As long as those parts preserve the orders assigned to them respectively by the constitution, they may *so far* be said to be balanced : but, when *one part*, without being sufficiently checked by the rest, abuses its power to the *manifest danger of public happiness*, or when the several parts abuse their respective powers so as to involve the commonwealth in the like peril, THE PEOPLE must restore things to that order, from which their functionaries have departed. If THE PEOPLE suffer this LIVING PRINCIPLE OF WATCHFULNESS AND CONTROUL to be extinguished among them, they will assuredly not long afterwards experience that of their “ temple,” “ there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.”

“ Though in a constituted commonwealth,” says the ever admired *Locke*, “ standing upon its own basis, and acting according to its own nature, that is, acting for the preservation of the community, there can be but one supreme power, which is the legislative, to which all the rest are, and must be subordinate ; yet the legislative being only a *fiduciary power*, to act for certain ends, there remains still in the *people*, to remove or alter the legislative, when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them. For all power given *with trust* for the attaining *an end*, being limited by that end, whenever that end is manifestly neglected or opposed, the trust must necessarily be *forfeited*, and the power devolve into the hands of those who gave it, who may

they *proceed*, and which they *serve*, that *truly and of right balances* them.†

BUT, as a good constitution not always produces a good administration, a defective one not always excludes it. Thus, in governments very different from those of *United America*, general manners and customs, improvement in knowledge, and the edu-

place it anew where they shall think best for their safety and security : and thus the community perpetually retains a supreme power of *saving* themselves from the attempts and designs *even of their legislators*, whenever they shall be so *foolish* or so *wicked*, as to lay and carry on designs against the liberties and properties of the subjects. If they who say this hypothesis lays a foundation for rebellion, mean that it *may* occasion civil wars or intestine broils, to tell the people that they are absolved from obedience, when illegal attempts are made upon their liberties and properties, they may as well say, upon the same ground, that honest men may not oppose robbers or pirates, because this *may* occasion disorder or bloodshed. I desire it may be considered what kind of peace there will be in the world, which is to be maintained only for the benefit of robbers and oppressors. *Polyphemus's* den gives us a perfect pattern of such a peace ; such a government, wherein *Ulysses* and his companions had nothing to do but quietly suffer themselves to be devoured. Are the people to be blamed if they have the sense of rational creatures, and can think of things no *otherwise than as they find and feel them* ? And is it not rather their fault, *who put things in such a posture*, that they would not have them *thought as they are* ? But whether the mischief hath oftener begun in the people's wantonness, or in the rulers insolence, *I leave to impartial history to determine.*"

† When the *controuling power* is in a constitution, it has the *nation* for its support, and the *natural* and the political controuling powers are together. The *laws* which are enacted by governments, controul men only as individuals, but the *nation*, through its constitution controuls the *whole government*, and has a *natural ability* to do so. The *final controuling power*, therefore, and the *original constituting power*, are one and the same power.

cation and disposition of princes, not unfrequently soften the features, and qualify the defects. Jewels of value are substituted, in the place of the rare and genuine orient of highest price and brightest lustre: and though the sovereigns *cannot* even in their ministers, be brought to account by the governed, yet there are instances of their conduct indicating a veneration for the rights of the people, and an internal conviction of the guilt that attends their violation. Some of them appear to be *fathers of their countries*. Revered princes! *Friends of mankind!* May peace be in their lives—and in their deaths—hope.

By this superior will of the people, is meant a reasonable will. When frenzy seizes the mass, it would be equal madness to think of their happiness, that is, of their freedom. They will infallibly have a *Philip* or a *Cæsar*, to bleed them into soberness of mind. At present we are cool; and let us attend to our business.

OUR government under the proposed confederation, will be guarded by a repetition of the strongest cautions against excesses. In the *senate* the *sovereignties* of the several states will be *equally* represented; in *the house of representatives*, the *people* of the whole union will be *equally* represent-

ed ; and, in the *president*, and the federal independent *judges*, so much concerned in the execution of the laws, and in the determination of their constitutionality, the *sovereignties* of the several states and *the people* of the whole union, may be considered as *conjointly* represented.

WHERE was there ever, and where is there now, upon the face of the earth, a government so diversified and attempered ? If a work formed with so much deliberation, so respectful and affectionate an attention to the interests, feelings, and sentiments of all *United America*, will not satisfy what would satisfy all *United America* ?

It seems highly probable, that those who would reject this labour of public love, would also have rejected the heaven-taught institution of TRIAL BY JURY, had they been consulted upon its establishment.——Would they not have cried out, that there never was framed so detestable, so paltry, and so tyrannical a device for extinguishing freedom, and throwing unbounded domination into the hands of the king and barons, under a contemptible pretence of preserving it ? “ What ! Can *freedom* be preserved by *imprisoning* its *guardians* ? Can *freedom* be preserved, by keeping *twelve* men *closely confined* without *meat, drink, fire, or candle*, until they *unanimously agree*, and this to be innume-

rably repeated? Can *freedom* be preserved, by thus delivering up *a number of freemen* to a *monarch* and an *aristocracy*, fortified by *dependent* and *obedient* judges and officers, to be shut up, *until under duress they speak as they are ordered?*—Why cannot the twelve jurors *separate*,* after hearing the evidence, return to their *respective homes*, and there *take time*,* and *think* of the matter *at their ease*?* Is there not *a variety of ways*, in which causes have been, and can be tried, without this *tremendous, unprecedented inquisition*? Why then is it insisted on; but because the fabricators of it *know* that it *will*, and *intend* that it *shall* reduce the people to slavery? Away with it.—Free-men will never be enthralled by so insolent, so execrable, so pitiful a contrivance.”

HAPPILY for us our ancestors thought otherwise. They were not so over-nice and curious, as to refuse blessings, because, they might possibly be abused.†

THEY perceived, that the *uses* included were—great and manifest. Perhaps they did not foresee,

* See late publications against the federal constitution.

† Trial by jury secures, to *the people* an immediate power in *the execution* of laws, whereby the neglect, evasion, or perversion of them is prevented: unless juries become *so ignorant* or *so base*, as not to know, or not to value their own clear and inestimable *rights*.

that from this acorn, as it were, of their planting, would be produced a perpetual vegetation of political energies, that “ would secure the just liberties of the nation for a long succession of ages,”* and elevate it to the distinguished rank it has for several centuries held. As to *abuses*, they trusted to their own spirit for preventing or correcting them : and worthy is it of deep consideration by every friend of freedom, that *abuses* that seems to be but “ *trifles*,”† may be attended by fatal consequences. What can be “ *trifling*,” that diminishes or detracts from the only defence, that ever was found against “ *open attacks and secret machinations* ?”‡ This establishment originates from a knowledge of human nature. With a superior force, wisdom, and benevolence united, it rives the difficulties concerning administration of justice, that have distressed, or destroyed the rest of mankind. It reconciles contradictions——*vastness of power*, with *safety of private station*. It is *ever new*, and *always the same*.

TRIAL by jury, and the dependence of taxation upon representation, those corner stones of liberty, were not obtained by *a bill of rights* or any other RECORDS, and have not been and cannot be preserved by them. They and all other rights must be preserved, by *soundness of sense* and *honesty of*

* *Blackstone*, III. 379.

† *Idem*. IV. 350.

‡ *Idem*. III. 381.

heart.—Compared with *these*, what are a bill of rights or any characters drawn upon PAPER or PARCHMENT, those frail remembrancers? Do we want to be reminded, that the sun enlightens, warms, invigorates, and cheers? or how horrid it would be, to have his rays intercepted by our being thrust for life, into mines or dungeons? Liberty is the sun of society. Rights are the rays.*

“IT is the duty which every man owes to his country, his friends, his posterity, and himself, to maintain to the utmost of his power this valuable palladium *in all its rights*; to restore it to its ancient dignity, if at all impaired by the different value of property, or otherwise deviated from its first institution; to *amend* it, wherever it is *defective*; (d) and above all, to guard with the most jealous circumspection against the new and arbitrary methods of trial, which, under a variety of plausible pretences, may in time imperceptibly undermine this best preservative of liberty.”† Trial by

* Instead of referring to musty RECORDS and mouldy PARCHMENTS to prove that the rights of the living are lost, “renounced, and abdicated for ever,” by those who are now no more. M. de la Fayette, in his address to the national assembly, applies to the living world, and says—“Call to mind the sentiments which *nature* has engraved in the heart of every citizen, and which take a new face when they are solemnly *recognized by all*. For a nation to love *liberty*, it is sufficient that she knows it; and to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it.”

RIGHTS of Man, page II.

† Blackstone, IV. 350.

jury is our *birth-right* ; and tempted to his own ruin, by some seducing spirit, must be the man, who in opposition to the genius of *United America*, shall dare to attempt its subversion.

IN the proposed confederation, it is preserved inviolable in criminal cases, and cannot be altered in other respects, but when *United America* demands it.

THERE seems to be a disposition in men to find fault, no difficult matter, rather than to act as they ought. The works of creation itself have been objected to : and one learned prince declared, that if *he* had been consulted, they would have been improved. With what book has so much fault been found, as with the *Bible* ? Perhaps principally, because it *so clearly and strongly enjoins men to do RIGHT*. How many, how plausible objections have been made against it, with how much ardor, with how much pains ? Yet, the book has done more good than all the books in the world ; would do much more, if duly regarded ; and might lead the objectors against it to happiness, if they would value it as they should.

WHEN *objections* are made to a system of high import, should they not be weighed against the *benefits* ? Are *these* great, positive, immediate ?

Is there a chance of endangering them by rejection or delay ? *May they not be attained without admitting the objections at present*, supposing the objections to be well founded ? If the objections are well founded, may they not be hereafter admitted without danger, disgust, or inconvenience ? Is the system so formed, that they may be thus admitted ? May they not be of less efficacy, than they are thought to be by their authors ? are they not designed to hinder evils, which are generally deemed to be sufficiently provided against ? May not the admission of them prevent benefits, that might otherwise be obtained ? In political affairs, is it not more safe and advantageous, for *all* to agree in measures that may not be best, than to quarrel *among themselves*, what are best ?

WHEN questions of this kind with regard to the plan proposed, are *calmly considered*, it seems reasonable to hope, that every faithful citizen of *United America*, will make up his mind, with much satisfaction to himself, and advantage to his country.

FABIUS.

L E T T E R V.

IT has been considered, *what are the rights to be contributed, and how they are to be managed*; and it has been said, that republican tranquillity and prosperity have commonly been promoted, in proportion to the strength of government for protecting *the worthy* against *the licentious*.

THE protection herein mentioned, refers to cases between citizens and citizens, or states and states: but there is also a protection to be afforded to *all* the citizens, or states, against foreigners. It has been asserted, that *this* protection never can be afforded, but under an appropriation, collection, and application, of the general force, by the will of the whole combination. This protection is in a degree dependent on the former, as it may be weakened by internal discords, and especially where the worst party prevails. It is the security of life, liberty and property, that renders public safety itself a blessing. Hence it is evident, that such establishments as tend most to protect the *worthy* against the *licentious*, tend most to protect *all* against foreigners. This position is found to be verified by indis-

putable facts, from which it appears, that when nations have been, as it were, *condemned* for their *crimes*, unless they first became *suicides*, foreigners have acted as *executioners*.

THIS is not all. As government is intended for the happiness of the people, the protection of the worthy against those of contrary characters, is calculated to promote the end of legitimate government, that is, *the general welfare*; for *the government will partake of the qualities of those whose authority is prevalent*. If it be asked, who are *the worthy*, we may be informed by a heathen poet——

“ Vir bonus est quis ?

“ Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat.”*

THE best foundations of this protection, that can be made laid by men, are a constitution and government secured, as well as can be, from the undue influence of *passions* either in *the people* or *their servants*. Then in a contest between citizens and citizens, or states and states, the standard of *laws* may be displayed, explained and strengthened by the well-remembered sentiments and examples of our fore-fathers, which will give it a sanctity far superior to that of their eagles so venerated by the for-

* He who reveres the constitution, liberties, and laws of his country.—
The dominion of *laws*, is the only dominion acknowledged by freemen.

mer masters of the world. This circumstance will carry powerful aids to the true friends of their country, and unless counteracted by the follies of *Pharsalia*, or the accidents of *Philippi*, may secure the blessings of freedom to succeeding ages.

IT has been contended, that the plan proposed to us, adequately secures us against the influence of *passions* in the federal servants. Whether it as adequately secures us against the influence of *passions* in the people, or in the particular states, *time will determine*, and *may the determination be propitious*.

LET us now consider the tragical play of the passions in similar cases ; or, in other words, the consequences of their irregularities. Duly governed, they produce happiness.

HERE the reader, is respectfully requested, to assist the intentions of the writer, by keeping in mind, the ideas of a single republic with *one* democratic branch in its government, and of a confederation of republics with *one* or *several* democratic branches in the government of the confederation, or in the government of its parts, so that as he proceeds, a comparison may easily run along, between any of these and the proposed plan.

HISTORY is entertaining and instructive : but, if admired chiefly for amusement, it may yield little profit. If read for improvement, it is apprehended, a slight attention only will be paid to the vast variety of particular incidents, unless they be such as may meliorate the heart. A knowledge of the distinguishing features of nations, the principles of their governments, the advantages and disadvantages of their situations, the methods employed to avail themselves of the first, and to alleviate the last, their manners, customs and institutions, the sources of events, their progresses, and determining causes, may be eminently useful, tho' obscurity may rest upon a multitude of attending circumstances.— Thus, one nation may become prudent and happy, not only by the wisdom and success, but even by the errors and misfortunes of another.

In *Carthage* and *Rome*, there was a very numerous *senate*, strengthened by prodigious attachments, and in a great degree independent of the people. In *Athens*, there was a senate strongly supported by the powerful court of *Areopagus*. In each of these republics, their affairs at length became convulsed, and their liberty was subverted. What cause produced these effects? Encroachments of the *senate* upon the authority of the people?—No ! but directly the reverse, according to the unanimous voice of historians ; that is, en-

encroachments of the *people* upon the authority of the senate. The *people* of these republics absolutely laboured for their own destruction; and never thought themselves *so free*, as when they were promoting their own subjugation. Though, even after these encroachments had been made, and ruin was spreading around, yet *the remnants of senatorial authority* delayed the final catastrophe.†

IN more modern times, the *Florentines* exhibited a memorable example. They were divided into violent parties; and the prevailing one vested exorbitant powers in the house of *Medici*, then possessed, as it was judged, of more money, than any crowned head in *Europe*. Though that house engaged and persevered in the attempt, yet the people were never despoiled of their liberty, until the *Medici* contrived to have them overwhelmed by the armies of foreign princes, to whose enterprizes their situation exposed them.

† The great *Bacon*, in enumerating the arts by which *Cæsar* enslaved his country, says——“ His *first* artifice was to break the strength of the *senate*, for while that remained safe, there was no opening for any person to immoderate or extraordinary power”——“ Nam *initio* sibi erant frangendæ *senatus* opes et autoritas, qua salva nemini ad, immodica et extra ordinaria imperia aditus erat.” *Bossuet*, bishop of *Meaux*, takes notice in his universal history, that the infamous *Herod*, to engross authority, attacked the *Sanbedrim*, which was in a manner *the senate*, where the supreme jurisdiction was exercised.”

REPUBLICS of later date and various form have appeared. Their institutions consist of old errors tissue with hasty inventions, somewhat excusable, as the wills of the *Romans*, made with arms in their hands. Some of them were CONDENSED,* by dangers. They are still compressed by them into a sort of union. Their well known transactions witness, that *their connection is not enough compact and arranged*. They have all suffered or *are suffering through that defect*. Their existence seems to depend more *upon others, than upon themselves*.† There might be an impropriety in saying more, considering the peculiarity of their circumstances *at this time*.

THE wretched mistake of the great men who were leaders in the long parliament of *England*, in attempting, by not filling up vacancies, to extend their power over a brave and sensible people, accustomed to POPULAR REPRESENTATION, and their downfall, when their victories and puissance by sea

* "If we consider what the principles are that first CONDENSE man into society, and what the motive is that regulates their mutual intercourse afterwards, we shall find, by the time we arrive at what is called government, that nearly the whole of the business is performed by the natural operation of the parts upon each other."

RIGHTS of Man.

† This opinion has been verified by facts that have taken place several years since its publication.

and land had thrown all *Europe* into astonishment and awe, shew, how difficult it is for rulers to usurp over a people who are not wanting to themselves. (e)

LET the fortunes of *confederated* republics be now considered.

“ *THE Amphictionic council*,” or “ general court of *Greece*,” claims the first regard. Its authority was very great : but, the parts were not sufficiently combined, to guard against the ambitious, avaricious, and selfish projects of some of them ; or, if they had the authority, they dared not to employ it, as the turbulent states were very sturdy, and made a sort of partial confederacies.*

* When *Xerxes* invaded *Greece* with the largest host and the greatest fleet that ever were collected, events occurred, which being preserved in history, convey to us a very affecting and instructive information.

While the danger was at some distance, the states of *Greece* looked to remote friends for assistance. Disappointed in these expectations, tho’ the vast armaments of their enemies were constantly rolling towards them, still there was no firmness in their union, no vigor in their resolutions.

The *Persian* army passed the *Hellespont*, and directed its march westward. It was then decided, that *Thessaly* was the frontier to be first attacked.

The *Thessalians*, than whom no people had been more forward in the common cause, hastened a remonstrance to *Corinth*, urging that unless they were immediately and powerfully supported, necessity would oblige them to make terms with the invaders.

“ *THE Achaean league*” seems to be the next in dignity. † It was at first, small, consisting of few states: afterwards, very extensive, consisting of ma-

This reasonable remonstrance roused the sluggish and hesitating councils of the confederacy. A body of foot was dispatched, who soon occupied the valley of *Tempe*, the only pass from *Lower Macedonia* into *Thessaly*.

In a few days, these troops being informed that there was another pass from *Upper Macedonia*, returned to the *Corinthian* isthmus.

The *Thessalians* thus deserted, made their submission.

“ This retreat from *Tempe* appears to have been a precipitate measure, rendered necessary by nothing so much as by THE WANT OF SOME POWERS of government extending over the several states which composed the confederacy.”

MITFORD'S *History of Greece*.

With diminished forces, the defence of the confederates was now to be contracted. But in the conduct even of this business daily becoming more urgent, we find them labouring under the defects of their confederation.

Destitute of any sufficient power extending over the whole, no part could confide in the protection of the whole, while the naval superiority of their enemy put it in his choice, where, when, and how to make his attacks; and therefore each republic seems to have been anxious to reserve its own strength for future contingencies.

Their generous hearts all beat at the call of freedom; but their efforts were embarrassed and enfeebled by the vices of their political constitution, to their prodigious detriment, and almost to their total destruction. For these vices, the ardor of heroism united with love of country could not compensate. These very vices therefore, may truly be said to have wasted the blood of patriots, and to have betrayed their country into the severest calamities.

† The *Lycian* confederation in *Asia* seems to have much resembled the *Achaean* league.

ny. In their diet or congress, they enacted laws, disposed of vacant employments, declared war, made peace, entered into alliances, compelled every state of the union to obey its ordinances, and managed other affairs. Not only their laws, but their magistrates, council, judges, money, weights and measures, were the same. So uniform were they, that all seemed to be but one state. Their chief officer called *Strategos*, was chosen in the congress by a majority of votes. He presided in the congress, commanded the forces, and was vested with great powers, especially in time of war : but was liable to be called to an account by the congress, and punished, if convicted of misbehaviour.

THESE states had been oppressed by the kings of *Macedon*, and insulted by tyrants. “ From their incorporation,” says *Polybius*, “ may be dated the birth of that greatness, that by a constant augment-

If WE shall hereafter by *experience* discover any vices in *our* constitution, let us HASTEN with prudence and a fraternal affection for each other, to correct them. *We are all embarked in the same vessel, and equally concerned in repairing any defects.*

Let us rouse up all our faculties, and generously strive to discover, how much happiness may be produced by political institutions.

On the nations, whose liberty has perished by the errors of their attempts, we cannot but bestow a sympathetic remembrance. That remembrance may be useful: for such events are instructors of succeeding ages.

ation, at length arrived to a marvellous height of prosperity. The fame of their *wise laws* and *mild government* reached the *Greek colonies in Italy*, where the *Grotoniates*, the *Sybarites*, and the *Cauloniates*, agreed to adopt them, and to govern their states conformably."

DID the delegates to *the Amphictionic council*, or to *the congress of the Achæan league*, destroy the liberty of their country, by establishing a monarchy or an aristocracy among themselves? Quite the contrary. *While the several states continued faithful to the union, they prospered.* Their affairs were shattered by dissensions, emulations, and civil wars, artfully and diligently fomented by princes who thought it their interest; and in the case of *the Achæan league*, partly, by the folly and wickedness of *Greeks* not of the league, who repined at the glories, that constantly attended the banner of freedom, supported by courage, and conducted by prudence. Spears plunged by *Grecian* hands into *Grecian* bosoms——most horrible hostility! Some portion of art, science, or virtue, perishing with every wound——so broke their power, that at last they all sunk, the envied and the envying chained together, under the domination first of *Macedon*, and then of *Rome*: and ever since, for more than two thousand years, the illuminating genius of that glorious nation has been lost to the world, while

the desendants of the heroes who fought at *Thermopylæ*, *Marathon*, *Salamie*, *Platea*, and *Mycale*, have groaned in servitude. Such are the wages of civil discord. (f)

LET any man of common sense peruse the gloomy but instructive pages of their mournful story, and he will be convinced, that if any nation could successfully have resisted those conquerors of the world, the illustrious deed had been atchieved by *Greece*, that cradle of republics; if the several states had been cemented by some such league as the *Achæan*, and had *honestly fulfilled its obligations*.†

It is not pretended, that *the Achæan league* was perfect, or that there were not monarchical and aristocratical factions among the people of it. Every concession of that sort, that can be asked, shall be made. It had many defects; every one of which, however, has been avoided in the plan proposed to us.

WITH all its defects, with all its disorders, yet such was the life and vigor communicated through *the whole*, by the *popular representation of each part*, and by the *close combination of all*, † that

† It should be gratefully remembered, that from *Greece*, through the long lapse of ages, and the ceaseless contention of events, we have received the *sacred train of thoughts*, that has wrought out such amazing deliverances in the old and the new world.

the true spirit of republicanism *predominated*, and thereby advanced the happiness and glory of the people to so pre-eminent a state, that our ideas upon the pleasing theme cannot be too elevated. Here is the proof of this assertion. When the *Romans* had laid *Carthage* in ashes ; had reduced the kingdom of *Macedon* to a province ; had conquered *Antiochus* the great, and got the better of all their enemies in the *East* ; these *Romans*, masters of so much of the then known world, determined to humble the *Achæan league*, because as history expressly informs us, “ *their great power began to raise no small jealousy at Rome.*”†

† The two principles here stated, under the titles of “ *popular representation of each part, and close combination of all,*” are in letter the third styled, “ *the power of the people pervading the system, and the strong confederation of the states ;*”—in which letter, their mutual relation, and arranged co-operation, are explained.

These principles *Joel Barlow* mentions, but chooses to call them “ *representative democracy, and federalising of states,*” adding that they “ are the two most consoling principles, that political experience has yet brought to light.”

Joel Barlow's second letter to the people of these states, dated at *Paris*, the 20th of *December*, 1799.

‡ *Polybius*.

It is worthy of attention, that the most splendid pages of history, are those, that display the prodigies which the *sentiment of liberty* is capable of producing in free nations.

“ Yes ! in *that generous cause*, for ever strong

“ The patriot's virtue, and the poet's song,

“ Still as the tide of ages rolls away,

“ Shall charm the world, unconscious of decay.”

WHAT a vast weight of argument do these facts and circumstances add to the maintenance of the principle contended for by the writer of this address ?

FABIUS.

L E T T E R VI.

SOME of our fellow-citizens have ventured to predict the future fate of *United America*, if the system proposed to us, shall be adopted.

THOUGH every branch of the constitution and government is to be popular, and guarded by the strongest provisions, that until this day have occurred to mankind, yet the system will end, they say, in the oppression of *a monarchy or aristocracy* by the federal servants or some of them.

SUCH a conclusion seems not in any manner suited to the premises.—It startles, yet, not so much from its novelty, as from the respectability of the characters by which it is drawn.

WE must not be too much influenced by our esteem for those characters: but, should recollect, that when the fancy is warmed, and the judgment inclined, by the proximity or pressure of particular objects, very extraordinary declarations are not unfrequently made. Such are the frailties of our nature, that genius and integrity sometimes afford no protection against them.

PROBABLY, there never was, and never will be, such an instance of dreadful denunciation, concerning the fate of a country, as was published while the union was in agitation between *England* and *Scotland*. The *English* were for a joint legislature, many of the *Scots* for separate legislatures, and urged, that they should be in a manner swallowed up and lost in the other, as then *they* would not possess *one eleventh* part in it.

UPON that occasion, lord *Belhaven*, one of the most distinguished orators of the age, made in the *Scottish* parliament a famous speech, of which the following extract is part :

“ *My lord chancellor,*

“ WHEN I consider this affair of an *union* between the two nations, as it is expressed in the several articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time, I find my mind crowded with a variety of *very melancholy thoughts*, and I think it my duty to disburthen myself of some of them, by laying them before and exposing them to the serious consideration of this honourable house.

“ I THINK, I see a *free and independent kingdom* delivering up *that*, which all the world hath been fighting for since the days of *Nimrod* ; yea, *that*,

for which most of all the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities and dukedoms of *Europe*, are at this very time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars that ever were ; *to wit, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves, without the assistance and council of any other.*

“ I THINK, I see a *national church*, founded upon a rock, secured by a *claim of right*, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and pointedest legal sanctions that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into a plain, upon an equal level with *Jews, Papists, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists*, and other sectaries, &c.

“ I THINK, I see *the noble and honorable peerage of Scotland*, whose valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies, upon their own proper charges and expences, now divested of their followers and vassalages, and put upon such an equal foot with their vassals, that I think, I see a petty *English EXCISEMAN* receive more homage and respect, than what was paid formerly to their *quondam Mackallamors*.

“ I THINK, I see *the present peers of Scotland*, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, overrun countries, reduced and subjected towns and

fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of *England*, now walking in *the court of requests*, like so many *English* attornies, laying aside their walking swords when in company with the *English* peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder.

“ I THINK, I see *the honorable estate of barons*, bold assertors of the nation’s rights and liberties the in the worst of times, now setting *a watch upon their lips*, and *a guard upon their tongues*, lest they be found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*.

“ I THINK, I see *the royal state of boroughs*, walking their *desolate streets*, hanging down their heads *under disappointments* ; worm’d out of *all the branches of their old trade*, uncertain *what band to turn to*, necessitated to become apprentices to their unkind neighbours, and yet after all finding their *trade so fortified by companies* and secured by prescriptions, that they despair of any success therein.

“ I THINK, I see *our learned judges* laying aside *their practiques and decisions*, studying the common law of *England*, gravelled with *certioraries, nisi priuses, writs of error, ejectiones firmæ, injunctions, demurrers, &c.* and frightened with *appeals and avocations*, because of *the new regulations*, and *rectifications* they meet with.

“ I THINK, I see *the valiant and gallant soldiery*, either sent to learn the plantation trade abroad, or at home petitioning for *a small subsistence*, as the reward of their honourable exploits, while their old corps are broken, the common soldiers left to beg, and the youngest *English* corps kept standing.

“ I THINK, I see *the honest industrious tradesman* loaded with *new taxes and impositions*, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his saltless pottage, petitioning for *encouragement to his manufactories*, and answered by counter petitions.

“ IN short, I think, I see *the laborious ploughman*, with his corn spoiling upon his hands *for want of sale*, cursing the day of his birth; dreading the expence of his burial, and uncertain whether to marry, or do worse.

“ I THINK, I see the incurable difficulties of *landed men*, fettered under the golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employments.

“ I THINK, I see *our mariners delivering up their ships* to their *Dutch* partners, and what through PRESSES AND NECESSITY *earning their bread as underlings in the English navy*. But above all, my

lord, I think, I see *our ancient mother Caledonia*, like *Cæsar*, sitting in the midst of our senate, *ruefully looking round about her*, covering herself with her royal garment, *attending the fatal blows*, and breathing out her last with a—*et tu quoque, mi fili.*

“ARE not these, my lord, *very afflicting thoughts?* And yet they are the least part suggested to me *by these dishonorable articles.* Should not the considerations of these things, vivify these *dry bones* of ours? Should not the *memory of our noble predecessors’ valor and constancy* rouse up our drooping spirits? Are our noble predecessors’ soul got so far into the *English cabbage-stalks and cauliflowers* that we should shew the least inclination that way? Are our eyes *so blinded?* Are our ears *so deafened?* Are our hearts *so hardened?* Are our tongues *so faltered?* Are our hands *so fettered?* that in this our day, I say, my lord, *that in this our day, we should not mind the things that concern the very being and well being of our ancient kingdom, before the day be hid from our eyes.*

“WHEN I consider this treaty as it hath been explained, and spoke to, before us these three weeks by past; I see the *English* constitution remaining firm, the same TWO HOUSES of parliament, the same *taxes*, the same *customs*, the same *excises*, the same *trading companies*, the same municipal laws and courts of judicature; and *all ours either subject*

to regulations or annihilations, only we are to have the honor to pay their old debts, and to have some few persons present for witnesses to the validity of the deed, when they are pleased to contract more."†

LET any candid *American* deliberately compare that transaction with the present, and laying his hand upon his heart, solemnly answer this question to himself—Whether, he does not verily believe the eloquent peer before mentioned, had ten-fold more cause to apprehend evils from such an unequal match between the two kingdoms, than any citizen of these states has to apprehend them from the system proposed? Indeed not only that peer, but other persons of distinction, and large numbers of the people of *Scotland* were filled with the utmost aversion to the union; and if the greatest diligence and prudence had not been employed by its friends in removing misapprehensions and refuting misrepresentations, and by the then subsisting government for preserving the public peace, there would certainly have been a rebellion.

YET *what were the consequences to Scotland of that dreaded union with England?* The cultivation of her virtues, and the correction of her errors——

† See objections against the federal constitution, very similar to those made in *Scotland*.

The emancipation of one class of her citizens from the yoke of their superiors—a relief of other classes from the injuries and insults of the great—improvements in agriculture, science, arts, trade, and manufactures—the profits of industry and ingenuity enjoyed under the protection of laws—peace and security at home, and increase of respectability abroad. Her *church* is still *eminent*—her *laws* and *courts of judicature* are safe—her *boroughs* grown into cities—her *mariners* and *soldiery* possessing *a larger subsistence*, than she could have afforded them, and her *tradesmen*, *ploughmen*, *landed men*, and her people of every rank, in a more flourishing condition, not only than they ever were, but in a more flourishing condition, than the clearest understanding could, at the time, have thought it possible for them to attain in *so short a period*, or even in many ages. *England* participated in the blessings. The *stock* of their union being strong, and capable of drawing better nutriment and in greater abundance, than they could ever have done apart.

“ Ere long, to heaven the soaring branches shoot,

“ And wonder at their *height*, and *more than native fruit*.”

VIRGIL.

FABIUS.

L E T T E R VII.

THUS happily mistaken was the ingenious, learned, and patriotic lord *Belhaven*, in his prediction concerning the fate of his country ; and thus happily mistaken, it is hoped, some of our fellow-citizens will be, in their prediction concerning the fate of their country.

HAD they taken larger scope, and assumed in their proposition the vicissitude of human affairs, and the passions that so often confound them, their prediction might have been a tolerably good guess. Amidst the mutabilities of terrestrial things, the liberty of *United America* may be destroyed. As to that point, it is our duty, humbly, constantly, fervently, to implore the protection of our most gracious Maker, “ who doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men,” and incessantly to strive, as we are commanded, to recommend ourselves to that protection, by “ doing his will,” diligently exercising our reason in fulfilling the purposes for which that and our existence were given to us.

How the liberty of this country is to be destroyed, is another question. Here, the gentlemen assign a cause, in no manner proportioned, as it is apprehended, to the effect.

THE uniform tenor of history is against them. That holds up the *licentiousness* of the people, and *turbulent temper* of some of the states, as *the only causes* to be dreaded, not the conspiracies of *federal officers*. Therefore, it is highly probable, that, if our liberty is ever subverted, it will be by one of the two causes first mentioned. Our tragedy will then have the same acts, with those of the nations that have gone before us; and we shall add one more example to the number already too great, of people that would not take warning, nor “know the things which belong to their peace.” But, we ought not to pass such a sentence against our country, and the interests of freedom: though, no sentence whatever can be equal to the atrocity of our guilt, if through enormity of *obstinacy* or *baseness*, we betray the cause of our posterity and of mankind, by Providence committed to our parental and fraternal care.—There is reason to believe, that the calamities of nations are the punishments of their sins.

As to the first mentioned cause, it seems unnecessary to say any more upon it.

As to the second, we find, that the misbehaviour of the constituent parts acting separately, or in partial confederacies, debilitated the *Greeks* under the *Amphictionic council*, and under the *Achæan league*.—As to the former, it was not intirely an assembly of strictly democratical republics. Besides, it wanted a sufficiently *close connection* of its parts. After these observations, we may call our attention from it.

“ ’TIS true, the *Achæan league* was disturbed by the misconduct of *some parts*, but, it is as true, that it surmounted these difficulties, and wonderfully prospered, until it was dissolved in the manner that has been described.

THE glorious operations of its principles bear the clearest testimony to this distant age and people, that the wit of man never invented such an antidote against monarchical and aristocratical projects, as a *strong combination* of truly *democratical* republics.† By strictly or truly democratical republics,

† This *limitation* of happy effects, to “ *strong combinations of democratical republics*,” is thus noticed by *Joel Barlow*.—“ The federalising of states, whose governments were monarchical or aristocratical, has not obtained any brilliant success, either in ancient or modern times.”

JOEL BARLOW’S second letter to the people of these states—dated *Paris*, the 20th of *December*, 1799.

the writer means republics, in which all the principal officers, except the judicial, are from time to time chosen by the people.

THE reason is plain. As *liberty* and *equality*, or as well termed by *Polybius*, BENIGNITY, were the foundations of their institutions, and the *energy* of the government pervaded *all the parts* in things relating to the whole, it counteracted for the common welfare, the designs hatched by selfishness in separate councils.

IF folly or wickedness prevailed in any *parts*, friendly offices and salutary measures restored tranquillity. Thus the public good was maintained. In its very formation, tyrannies and aristocracies submitted by consent or compulsion. Thus the *Ceraunians*, *Trezenians*, *Epidaurians*, *Megalopolitans*, *Argives*, *Hermionians*, and *Phlyazians* were received into the league. A happy exchange! For history informs us, that so true were they to their *noble* and *benevolent* principles, that, in their diet, “ *no resolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the interest of each part so consulted, as to leave no room for complaints!*”

How degrading would be the thought to a citizen of *United America*, that the people of these

states, with institutions beyond comparison preferable to those of *the Achæan league*, and so vast a superiority in other respects, should not have wisdom and virtue enough, to manage their affairs, with as much *prudence* and *affection of one for another* as these ancients did.

WOULD this be doing justice to our country ? The composition of her temper is excellent, and seems to be acknowledged equal to that of any nation in the world. Her prudence will guard its warmth against *two faults*, to which it may be exposed—The one, an imitation of *foreign fashions and customs*, which from small things may lead to great. May her citizens aspire at *a national dignity* in every part of conduct, private as well as public. This will be influenced by the former. May *simplicity*(g) be the characteristic feature of their manners, which, inlaid with their other virtues and their forms of government, may then indeed be compared, in the Eastern stile, to “ apples of gold in pictures of silver.” Thus will they long, and may they, while their rivers run, escape the contagion of *luxury* (b)—that motley issue of innocence debauched by folly, and the lineal predecessor of tyranny, prolific of guilt and wretchedness. The other fault, of which, *as yet* there are no symptoms among us, is the *thirst of empire*. This is a vice, that ever has been, and from the nature of

things, ever must be, fatal to *republican* forms of government. Our regular wants, are sources of happiness : our irregular desires, of misery. The abuse of prosperity, is rebellion against heaven ; and succeeds accordingly.

Do the propositions of gentlemen who object, offer to our view, any of *the great points* upon which, the fate, fame, or freedom of nations has turned, excepting what some of them have said about trial by jury ; and which has been frequently and fully answered ? Is there one of them calculated to regulate, and if needful, to *CONTROUL* those tempers and measures of *constituent parts* of an union, that have been so baneful to the weal of every confederacy that has existed ? Do not some of them *tend to enervate the authority* evidently designed thus to regulate and controul ? Do not others of them discover a bias in their advocates to *particular connections*, that if indulged to them, would enable persons of less understanding and virtue to repeat the disorders, that have so often violated public peace and honor ? Taking them altogether, would they afford as strong a security to our liberty, as the *frequent election* of the federal officers by the people, and the *repartition of power* among those officers, according to the proposed system ?

IT may be answered, that, they would be an additional security. In reply, let the writer be permitted at present to refer to what has been said.

THE principal argument of gentlemen who object, involves a direct proof of the point contended for by the writer of this address.

THEY generally agree, that the great danger of a monarchy or aristocracy among us, will arise from the federal *senate*.

THE members of this *senate* are to be chosen by men exercising the sovereignty of their respective states. These men therefore, must be monarchically or aristocratically disposed, before they will choose federal senators thus disposed; and what merits particular attention, is, that these men must have obtained an overbearing influence in their respective states, before they could with such disposition arrive at the exercise of the sovereignty in them: or else, the like disposition must be prevalent among the people of such states.

TAKING the case either way, is not this a disorder in *parts* of the union, and ought it not to be rectified by *the rest*? Is it reasonable to expect, that the disease will seize *all* at the same time? If it is not, ought not *the sound* to possess a right and

power, by which they may prevent the infection from spreading? And will not THE EXTENT of our territory, and the NUMBER of states within it, vastly increase the difficulty of any political disorder diffusing its contagion, and the probability of its being repressed?†

FROM the annals of mankind, these conclusions are deducible—that confederated states may act prudently and honestly, and apart foolishly, and knavishly; but that it is a defiance of all probability, to suppose, that states conjointly shall act with folly and wickedness, and yet separately with wisdom and virtue.

FABIUS.

† The truth of these observations has been most remarkably established in the republic of *Franse*, since these letters were written.

Many parts of that republic have, during the present war, been convulsed by insurrections of such magnitude, with regard to the number of the insurgents, and the size of the countries occupied by them, that her enemies expected they would dissolve the government. So in all probability they would have done, had the *extent* of the republic been much less than it is. But, “*the sound parts*” being much larger than “*the infected*,” reduced their internal foes to perfect order, though at the same time engaged in defending themselves against the formidable fleets and armies of their invaders.

How highly, how very highly ought these states to prize *that blessed union*, which, by the favour of Divine Providence, ever to be acknowledged with the deepest gratitude, gives to them such a body of purifying, protecting power.

“ESTO PERPETUA.”

L E T T E R VIII.

THE proposed confederation offers to us a system of diversified representation in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, as essentially necessary to the good government of an extensive republican empire. Every argument to recommend it, receives new force, by contemplating events, that must take place. The number of states in *America* will increase. If not united to the present, the consequences are evident. If united, it must be by a plan that will communicate *equal liberty*, and assure *just protection* to them. These ends can never be attained, but by a *close combination* of the several states. (i)

It has been asserted, that a very extensive territory cannot be ruled by a government of republican form. What is meant by this proposition? Is it intended to abolish all ideas of connection, and to precipitate us into the miseries of division, either as single states, or partial confederacies? To stupefy us into despondence, that destruction may certainly seize us? The fancy of poets never feigned so dire a *metamorphosis*, as is now held up to

us. The *ægis* of their *Minerva* was only said to turn men into stones. This spell is to turn “a band of brethren,” into a monster, preying on itself, and preyed upon by all its enemies.

If *hope is not to be abandoned, common sense teaches us to attempt the best means of preservation.* This is all that men can do, and this they ought to do. Will it be said, that any kind of disunion, or a slight connection, is preferable to a firm union? Or *is there any charm in that power* which is said, to be alone competent to the rule of such an empire? There is no *evidence of fact*, nor any *deduction of reason*, that justifies the assertion. It is true, that extensive territory has in general been arbitrarily governed; and it is as true, that a number of republics, in such territory, *loosely connected*, must inevitably rot into despotism.

It is said——such territory has never been governed by a confederacy of republics. Granted. But, where was there ever a confederacy of republics, in such territory, united, *as these states are to be* by the proposed constitution? Where was there ever a confederacy, in which the sovereignty of each state being represented with equal suffrage in one legislative body, the people of each state *equally represented* in proportion to the number of inhabitants in another, and the sovereignties and peo-

ple of all the states *conjointly represented* in a president, that possessed such a *qualified and temperating* authority in making laws? Or, in which, the appointment to federal offices was vested in a chief magistrate *chosen* as our president is to be? Or, in which, the acts of the executive department were *regulated*, as they are to be with us? Or, in which, the federal judges were to hold their offices *independently and during good behaviour*? Or, in which, the authority over the militia and troops was *so distributed and controuled*, as it is to be with us? Or, in which, the people were *so drawn together* by religion, blood, language, manners, and customs, undisturbed by former feuds or prejudices? Or, in which, the affairs relating to the whole union, were to be managed by an assembly of several representative bodies, invested with different powers that became *efficient only in concert*, without their being embarrassed by attention to *other business*? Or, in which, a provision was made for the federal revenue, *without recurring to coercion against states*, the miserable expedient of every other confederacy that has existed, an expedient always attended with odium, and often with a delay productive of irreparable damage? Where was there ever a *confederacy*, that thus adhered to *the first principle in civil society*; obliging by its *direct authority* every individual, to contribute,

when the public good necessarily required it, a just proportion of aid to the support of the commonwealth protecting him——*without disturbing him in the discharge of the duties owing by him to the state of which he is an inhabitant*; and at the same time, so amply, so anxiously provided, for bringing the interests, and even the wishes of *every sovereignty* and of *every person* of the union, under all their various modifications and impressions, into their full operation and efficacy in the national councils? The instance never existed. The conclusion ought not to be made. It is without premises. *So far is the assertion from being true, that “ a very extensive territory cannot be ruled by a government of a republican form,” that such a territory cannot be well-ruled by a government of any other form.*

THE assertion has probably been suggested by reflections on the democracies of antiquity, without making a proper distinction between them and the democracy of *the United States*.

IN the democracies of antiquity, the people assembled together and governed *personally*. This mode was incompatible with greatness of number, and dispersion of habitation.

IN the democracy of *the United States*, the people act by their *representatives*. This improvement collects the will of millions upon points concerning their welfare, with more advantage, than the will of hundreds could be collected under the ancient form.

REPRESENTATION, which implies purity of election, is a gentle remedy for every evil. It is at once, a preservative against discontent and rashness on the part of the people, and against negligence and usurpation on the part of their magistrates. All the curious contrivances and artful balances devised in ancient or modern times to supply its place, have proved deficient. To mention no more, *Athens* and *Rome* perished for want of a representative government.

THERE is another improvement equally deserving regard, and that is, the *varied representation* of sovereignties *and* people in the constitution now proposed.

IT has been said, that this representation was a mere compromise.

IT was not a mere compromise. *The equal representation of each state*, with equal suffrage in one branch of the legislature, was an original sub-

stantive proposition, made in the convention at Philadelphia, in 1787, very soon after the draft offered by *Virginia*, to which last mentioned state *United America* is much indebted not only in other respects, but for her merit in the origination and prosecution of this momentous business.

THE proposition was *expressly* made by the delegate who brought it forward, upon *this principle*, that a territory of such extent as that of *United America*, could not *be safely and advantageously governed*, but by a *combination* of republics, each *retaining* all the rights of supreme sovereignty, *excepting* such as ought to be contributed to the union ; that for the *securer preservation* of these sovereignties, they ought to be represented in a body *by themselves*, and with *equal suffrage* ; and that they would be annihilated, if both branches of the legislature were to be formed of representatives of the people, in proportion to the number of inhabitants in each state.*

* Justice *Blackstone* argues in like manner, after admitting the “expediency” of titles of nobility. “It is also expedient that their owners should form an independent and separate branch of the legislature”—otherwise “their privileges would soon be borne down and overwhelmed.”

COMMENT. 2. 157.

Our political system thus arranged, may perhaps not unaptly be said to resemble the solar system, as was argued by the delegate who made the proposition before-mentioned, in the convention at Philadelphia, when this very

THE principle lately mentioned appears to be well founded in reason. Why cannot a very extensive territory be ruled by a government of republican form? It is answered, because its power must languish through distance of parts. Granted; if it be not a "body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together." If it be such a body, the objection is removed. Instead of *such a perfect body, framed upon the principle that commands men to associate, and societies to confederate; that which by communicating and extending happiness, corresponds with the gracious intentions of our Maker towards us his creatures;* what is proposed? Truly, *that the natural legs and arms of this body should be cut off, because they are*

point, concerning the distribution of powers, between the national government and the state governments was under debate.

The concentrated energy of the union, may be compared to the sun full of light and heat, abounding with blessings, and the several states to the planets of different sizes, revolving round it in conformity to fixed laws, receiving its salutary influences, and communicating benefits to one another, while at the same time each turns on its own axis, for its own accommodation.

The peculiar power of each state that urges it through its orbit, may be called its projectile force, and the constantly-operating tendency of all towards the central sun of the system, and towards each other, all operating upon all, with the regulated observance of due distances from one another, may be styled a force of attraction.

What pity! that these beautiful spheres, with all their delightful harmonies, should ever be crushed and flattened into one vast consolidation.

too weak, and their places, supplied by stronger limbs of wood and metal.

MONARCHS, it is said, are enabled to rule extensive territories, because they send viceroys to govern certain districts ; and thus the reigning authority is transmitted over the whole empire. Be it so : but, what are the consequences ? Tyranny, while the viceroys continue in submission to their masters, and the distraction of civil war besides, when they revolt, to which they are frequently tempted by the very circumstances of their situation, as the history of such governments indisputably proves.

AMERICA is, and will be, divided into several sovereign states, each possessing every power proper for governing *within its own limits for its own purposes*, and also for acting *as a member of the union*.

THEY will be *civil and military stations, conveniently planted* throughout the empire, with lively and regular communications. A stroke, a touch upon any part, will be immediately felt by the whole.*——*Rome*, famed for imperial arts, had a

*“ This beneficent system of federalising appears to be the only resource that nature has offered us, at least, in the present state of political science, for

glimpse of *this great truth*; and endeavoured, as well as her hard-hearted policy would permit, to realize it in her COLONIES. They were miniatures of the capital: but wanted the *vital principle of sovereignty*, and were too small. They were melted down into, or overwhelmed by the nations around them. Were they now existing, they might be called curious automaton—something like to our *living* originals. *These*, will bear a remarkable resemblance to the mild features of *patriarchal* government, in which each son ruled *his own household*, and in *other matters* the whole family was directed by the common ancestor.

WILL a people thus happily situated, ever desire to exchange their condition, for subjection to an absolute ruler; or can they ever look but with veneration, or act but with deference to that union, that alone can, under Providence, preserve them from such subjection?

CAN any government be devised, that will be more suited to citizens, who wish for *equal freedom* and *common prosperity*; better calculated for pre-

avoiding at once the two dangerous extremes of having the republic too great for an equitable administration within, or too small for security without."

JOEL BARLOW's second letter to the people of these states, dated *Paris*, the 20th of *December*, 1799.

venting corruption of manners;† for advancing the improvements that endear or adorn life ; or that can be more conformed to the *understanding* to the *best affections*, to the very *nature* of MAN ? *What harvests of happiness may grow from the seeds of liberty that are now sowing ?* The cultivation will indeed demand continual attention, unceasing diligence, and frequent conflict with difficulties : but, to object against the benefits offered to us by our Creator, by excepting to the terms annexed, is a crime to be equalled only by its folly.

DELIGHTFUL are the prospects that will open to the view of *United America*——her sons well prepared to defend their own happiness, and ready to relieve the misery of others——her fleets formidable, but only to the unjust——her revenue sufficient, yet unoppressive——her commerce affluent, but not debasing——peace and plenty within her borders——and the glory that arises from a proper use of power, encircling them.

WHATEVER regions may be destined for servitude, let us hope, that some portions of this land

† Good education is the best institution for preventing corruption of manners ; and the progress of knowledge is the most successful foe to religious and civil despotism.

By wise legislators, instruction will be relied on vastly more than punishments. Of these the most effectual regulation will be their certainty, not their severity.

may be blessed with liberty ; let us be convinced, that *nothing short of such an union* as has been proposed, can preserve the blessing ; and therefore let us be resolved to adopt it.

As to alterations, a little EXPERIENCE† will cast more light upon the subject, than a multitude of debates. Whatever qualities are possessed by those who object, they will have the candor to confess, that they will be encountered by opponents, not in any respect inferior, and yet differing from them in judgment, upon every point they have mentioned.

SUCH untired industry to serve their country, did the delegates to the federal convention exert, that they not only laboured to form the best plan

† If all the wise men of ancient and modern times, all the *Solons, Lycurguses, Penns,* and *Lockes*, that ever lived, could be assembled together for deliberation on the subject, they could not form a constitution or system of government that would not require future alterations.

The British government, which some persons so much celebrate, is a collection of innovations.

There is a continual flow in human affairs. The ceaseless waves have carried man on to delightful discoveries, greatly meliorating his condition. There are more discoveries yet to be made, and perhaps more favourable to his condition. While other sciences are advancing, why should we supinely or vainly suppose, that we in the *Argo* lately constructed by us, have already reached the "*ultima thule*," the farthest point in the navigation of policy.

they could, but, *provided for making at any time amendments on the authority of the people*, without shaking the stability of the government. For this end, the congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, SHALL call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by congress.

Thus, by a *gradual progress*, we may from time to time *introduce every improvement in our constitution*, that shall be found suitable to our situation.† For this purpose, it may perhaps be adviseable, for every state, as it sees occasion, to form with the utmost deliberation, drafts of alterations respective-

† Every improvement in our constitution that can be discovered, should be *immediately adopted as part of it*.

The promoters of the *British* revolution in 1688, neglected in the proper time to make many improvements of high importance; and the friends of freedom have since been scarcely able to have even one of them established.

The great maxim of that very extraordinary man, COSMO DE MEDICIS, was this—"Defer not till to-morrow, what can and ought to be done to-day."

ly required by them, and to enjoin their representatives, to employ every proper method to obtain a ratification.

IN this way of proceeding, the undoubted sense of every state, collected in the coolest manner, not the sense of individuals, will be laid before the whole union in congress, and that body will be enabled with the clearest light that can be afforded by every part of it, and with the least occasion of irritation, to compare and weigh the sentiments of all *United America* ; forthwith to adopt such alterations as are recommended by general unanimity ; by degrees to devise modes of conciliation upon contradictory propositions : and to give the revered advice of our common country, upon those, if any such there should be, that in her judgment are inadmissible, because they are incompatible with the happiness of these states.

It cannot be with reason apprehended, that congress will refuse to act upon any articles calculated to promote the common *welfare*, though they may be unwilling to act upon such as are designed to advance *PARTIAL interests* ; but whatever their sentiments may be, they *MUST* call a convention for proposing amendments, on applications of two-thirds of the legislatures of the several states.

MAY those good citizens, who have sometimes turned their thoughts towards a second convention, be pleased to consider, that there are men who speak as they do, yet do not mean as they do. These borrow the sanction of their respected names, to conceal desperate designs. May they also consider, whether persisting in the suggested plan, in preference to the constitutional provision, may not kindle flames of jealousy and discord, which all their abilities and virtues can never extinguish.

FABIUS.

L E T T E R IX.

WHEN the sentiments of some objectors, concerning the *British* constitution, are considered, it is surprising, that they should apprehend so much danger to *United America*, as, they say, will attend the ratification of the plan proposed to us, by the late federal convention.

THESE gentlemen will acknowledge, that *Britain* has sustained many internal convulsions, and many foreign wars, with a gradual advancement in freedom, power and prosperity. They will acknowledge, that no nation has existed that ever so perfectly united those *distant extremes*, private *security of life, liberty, and property*, with *exertion of public force*——so advantageously combined the various powers of militia, troops, and fleets——or so happily blended together arms, arts, science, commerce, and agriculture. From what spring has flowed this stream of happiness? The gentlemen will acknowledge, that these advantages are derived from a *single democratical representative branch in her legislature*. They will also acknowledge,

that in this branch, called the house of commons, only one hundred and thirty-one are members for counties ; that nearly one half of the whole house is chosen by about five thousand seven hundred persons, mostly of no property ; that fifty-six members are elected by about three hundred and seventy persons, and the rest in an enormous disproportion* to the numbers of inhabitants who ought to vote. †

THUS are all the millions of people in that kingdom, said to be represented in the house of commons.

LET the gentlemen be so good, on a subject so familiar to them, as to make a comparison between the *British* constitution, and that proposed to us. Questions like these will then probably present themselves : is there more danger to our liberty, from such a president as we are to have, than to that of *Britons* from an hereditary monarch with a vast revenue——absolute in the erection and disposal of offices, and in the exercise of the whole

* No member of parliament ought to be elected by fewer than the majority of 800, upon the most moderate calculation, according to Doctor *Price*.

† By the constitution proposed to us, a majority of the house of representatives, and of the senate, makes a quorum to do business : but, if the writer is not mistaken, about a fourteenth part of the members of the house of commons, makes a quorum for that purpose.

executive power——in the command of the militia, fleets, and armies, and the direction of their operations——in the establishments of fairs and markets, the regulation of weights and measures, and coining of money——who can call parliaments with a breath, and dissolve them with a nod——who can, at his will, make war, peace, and treaties irrevocably binding the nation——and who can grant pardons for crimes, and titles of nobility, as it pleases him? Is there more danger to us, from twenty-six senators, or double the number, than to *Britons*, from an hereditary aristocratic body, consisting of many hundreds, possessed of enormous wealth in lands and money——strengthened by a host of dependents——and who, availing themselves of defects in the constitution, send many of these into the house of commons——who hold a third part of the legislative power in their own hands——and who form the highest court of judicature in the nation? Is there more danger to us, from a house of representatives, to be chosen by all the freemen of the union, every two years, than to *Britons*, from such a sort of representation as they have in the house of commons, the members of which, too, are chosen but every seven years? Is there more danger to us, from the intended federal officers, than to *Britons*, from such a monarch, aristocracy, and house of commons together? WHAT BODIES are there in *Britain*, vested with such capacities for

inquiring into, checking, and regulating the conduct of national affairs, *as our sovereign states?*—What proportion does the number of FREEHOLDERS (*k*) in *Britain* bear to the number of people? And what is the proportion in *United America*?

IF any person, after considering such questions, shall say, there will be more danger to our freedom under the proposed plan, than to that of *Britons* under their constitution, he must mean, that *Americans* are, or will be, beyond all comparison, inferior to *Britons* in understanding and virtue; otherwise, with a constitution and government, every branch of which is so extremely popular, they certainly might guard their rights, at least as well, as *Britons* can guard theirs, under such political institutions as they have; *unless the person has some inclination to an opinion, that monarchy and aristocracy are favourable to the preservation of their rights.* If he has, he cannot too soon recover himself. *If ever monarchy or aristocracy appears in this country, it must be in the hideous form of despotism.*

WHAT an infatuated, depraved people must *Americans* become, if, with such unequalled advantages, committed to their trust in a manner almost miraculous, they lose their liberty? Through a single organ of representation, in the legislature only, of the

kingdom just mentioned, though that organ is diseased, such portions of popular sense and integrity have been conveyed into the national councils, as have purified other parts, and preserved the whole in its present state of healthfulness. To their own vigour and attention, therefore, is that people, under Providence, indebted for the blessings they enjoy. They have held, and now hold THE TRUE BALANCE in their government. While they retain their enlightened spirit, they will continue to hold it; and *if they regard what they owe to others*, as well as what they owe to themselves, they will, most probably, continue to be happy.†

THEY know, that there are powers that cannot be *expressly limited*, without injury to themselves; and

† If to the union of *England and Scotland*, a just connection with *Ireland* be added, ecclesiastical establishments duly amended; additions to the peerage regulated, and representation of the commons properly improved, it is to be expected that the tranquillity, strength, reputation, and prosperity of the empire will be greatly promoted. The monarchy will probably change into a republic, if representation in the house of commons is not increased by additions from the *counties* and *great trading* cities and towns. Without this precaution, an increase of the peerage seems likely to accelerate an alteration. These two measures should have, it is apprehended, in such a government and in such a progress of human affairs, a well-tempered co-operation. The power of the crown might thereby become more dignified, moderated, and secured.

The discussion of this subject would embrace a very great number of considerations; but the conclusion seems to approach as near to demonstration, as an investigation of this kind can do.

their magnanimity scorns any fear of such powers. This magnanimity taught *Charles* the first, that he was but a royal servant; and this magnanimity caused *James* the second's army, raised, paid, and kept up by himself, to confound him with huzzas for liberty.

THEY ask not for compacts, of which the national welfare, and, in some cases, its existence, may demand violations. They despise such dangerous provisions against danger.

THEY know, that *all powers* whatever, even those that, according to the forms of the constitution, are irresistible and absolute, of which there are many, *ought to be exercised for the public good*; and that when they are used to the public detriment, they are unconstitutionally exerted.

THIS *plain text*, commented upon by their experienced intelligence, has led them safe through hazards, of every kind: and *they now are, what we see them*.—Upon the review, one is almost tempted to believe, that their insular situation, soil, cli-

We have seen and felt among ourselves a proof, that when *provocations* are carried to a *certain degree*, the warmest affection for the person, family and government of a prince, may be turned into the extremest aversion. Many instances of the same kind among nations, ancient and modern, might be enumerated.

mate, and some other circumstances, have compounded a peculiarity of temperature, uncommonly favourable to *the union of reason and passion*.

CERTAINLY, 'tis very memorable, with what life, impartiality, and prudence, they have interposed on great occasions ; have by their patriotism communicated temporary soundness to their disordered representation ; and have bid public confusions to cease. Two instances out of many may suffice. The excellent *William* the third was distressed by a house of commons. He dissolved the parliament, and appealed to the people. They relieved him. His successor, the present king, in the like distress, made the same appeal ; and received equal relief.

THUS *they* have acted : but *Americans*, who have the same blood in their veins, have, it seems, very different heads and hearts. *We* shall be enslaved by a president, senators, and representatives, chosen by ourselves, and continually rotating within the period of time assigned for the continuance in office of members in the house of commons ? 'Tis strange : but, we are told, 'tis true. It may be so. As we have our all at stake, let us inquire, in what way this event is to be brought about. Is it to be before or after a general corruption of man-

ners? * If after, it is not worth attention. The loss of happiness then follows of course. If before, how is it to be accomplished? Will a virtuous and sensible people choose villains or fools for their officers? Or if they should choose men of wisdom and integrity, will these lose both or either, by taking their seats? If they should, will not their places be quickly supplied by another choice? Is the like derangement again, and again, and again, to be expected? Can any man believe, that such astonishing phenomena are to be looked for? Was there ever an instance, where rulers, thus selected by the people from their own body, have, in the manner apprehended, outraged their own tender connexions, and the interests, feelings, and sentiments of their affectionate and confiding countrymen? Is such a conduct more likely to prevail in this age of mankind, than in the darker periods that have preceded? Are men more disposed now than formerly, to prefer uncertainties to certainties, things perilous and infamous to those that are safe and honourable? Can all the mysteries of such iniquity, be so wonderfully managed by treacherous rulers, that none of their enlightened constituents, nor any of their honest associates, acting with them in public bodies, shall ever be able to discover the conspiracy, till at last it shall burst with destruction to the

* "The condition of a people is irretrievable, when vices are passed into manners."

whole federal constitution ! Is it not *ten thousand times less probable*, that such transactions will happen, than it is, that we shall be exposed to innumerable calamities, by rejecting the plan proposed, or even by delaying to accept it ?

LET us consider our affairs in another light. Our difference of government, participation in commerce, improvement in policy, and magnitude of power, can be no favourite objects of attention to the monarchies and sovereignties of *Europe*. Our loss will be their gain—our fall, their rise—our shame, their triumph. Divided, they may distract, dictate, and destroy. *United, their efforts will be waves dashing themselves into foam against a rock.*—May our national character be—an *animated moderation*, that seeks only its own, and will not be satisfied with less.

To his beloved fellow-citizens of *United America*, the writer dedicates this imperfect testimony of his affection, with fervent prayers, for a perpetuity of freedom, virtue, piety, and felicity, to them and their posterity.

FABIUS.

THE
LETTERS
OF
FABIUS:
CONTAINING
REMARKS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION
OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

—:•:—
LETTER I.

TO make a few observations on the present situation of public affairs, appears to me to be my duty. Under that impression to forbear, would be criminal.

SOME of my countrymen want no information that I can give them. To these, it would be presumption to offer it. Others perhaps have less favourable opportunities of obtaining information than I have had. To these I address what I have now to say.

NEITHER time, nor my infirmities will permit me to be attentive to style, arrangement, or the labour of consulting former publications. I write from my heart—and from recollection.

HAVING nothing to hope, wish, or fear, but as a commoner of these states, to which I am bound by birth, the tenderest pledges, friendships, and fellow-citizenship, I may be mistaken : but, I can never mean to deceive. My best interests of every kind are ranged against the attempt. All that can be dear to man, is wrapped up for me, in the general welfare.

I KNOW, and I respect the formidable host I shall provoke. My motives fortify me. I will provoke, because I esteem them.

AFTER our revolution, two dangers presented themselves to view——*internal discord*, and *the jealousy of foreign powers* respecting the form of our government, especially if it should be *remarkably prosperous*, which, no doubt, would be our desire and aim.

ANY person acquainted with our transactions, in the two wars about the middle of this century, might easily judge what was to be expected from *internal discord*.

Our first federal constitution partook largely of the dissociating ingredients, that were too redundant among us. It was pregnant with disorders.

In 1787, the most immediate evils of it, were in an extraordinary manner removed.

In 1788, the new constitution commenced its operations, and held its course with an attendant assemblage of great benefits.

In the next year, surprising political movements began in *France*, apparently auspicious to the cause of liberty and the interests of mankind.

In the following years, the atmosphere was obscured by dark clouds. The neighbouring powers, with some remote, entered into a confederacy against *France*. *There*, all the passions of the soul were roused.——Perils from without, perils from within, distracted the understanding, and convulsed humanity——the selfish, the audacious, and the unfeeling, seized the disastrous opportunity, and by plausible pretensions to patriotism, clutched the public opinion, and with it the public force.

The nation had a choice of difficulties.——One was, to embroil and weaken themselves, by con-

tests in the disposal of power, and thus more and more exposed themselves to their formidable invaders. The other was, to adhere to their leaders, however exceptionable their character and conduct, and thus make up as much strength as they could, to repel their inexorable enemies, reserving better regulations for more quiet and safe times.—They chose the last, and as *we* did in a similar struggle, bore many things that were wrong, rather than disturb the exertions for general defence.

THE tempest raged with unceasing fury, and in the midst of its direful glares, among vast crowds immolated with detestable iniquity, a sacrifice rather to the policy of his pretended friends, than to the hatred of *France*, fell———one of the best of kings, probably of men——the benevolent *Louis* the XVI. whose virtues I shall value, whose memory I shall revere, whose fate I shall deplore, as long as any sense of esteem, respect, and compassion, embalmed by gratitude, shall rest within the unbroken urn of my heart.

AT length——the reign of tyrants, or rather of monsters, ended.

THE agitations of *our* minds during these conflicts, were violent. Some among us were so over-

heated, that they even vindicated the most enormous atrocities of the most abandoned of men, as necessary severities. But—this was not the sentiment of *America*. For every particle of needless violence, she sighed. She perceived the name of liberty profaned, the cause dishonored, the interests violated. What could she do amidst the rapid horrors? She pitied——detested——wept——and execrated.

THROUGH the murky exhalations from a bleeding land, a ray of hope twinkled. Soon afterwards the prospect brightened; and when the sky became clear, with transports of joy we saw *France* firm at her post, and true to herself, to freedom, and to mankind.

Do *we* censure her, for enduring the horrible despotism of *the monsters*, during the paroxysm of her destiny, and not give her credit, for putting, as soon as circumstances permitted, a period to them and to their abominations? That would not be fair-dealing.

HER submission to them was proportioned to the foreign efforts to destroy her. These compelled her, these imposed upon her a necessity to submit. How? By a combination of almost all *Europe*, against a single nation in a new and untried state,

proclaiming “ threats of fire and sword,” and labouring to execute those threats, by the most numerous and best disciplined armies, commanded by the most experienced and renowned generals in the world.

BUT—who assisted her to extinguish *the system of terror*? Any emperor, king, or prince? Any of the crowned professors, protectors, and practisers of “*morality and religion*?” No. What then? Her own good sense, spirit, and humanity. *This glorious act was all her own.*

It was an act congenial to the feelings of *Frenchmen*. Universal France—the miscreants of murder and pillage are too inconsiderable to be regarded—universal *France* rejoiced in the deed. Read the accounts written by foreigners who were witnesses of the public exultations upon the event. There one may find some traces of FRENCH MIND.

THE nation revived. She flung off her enemies from her frontiers, into their own territories.—Thither she pursued them, as she had a right to do. The war blazed. Her victories were brilliant. She had declared herself a REPUBLIC, was evidently competent to the final establishment of her liberty, and in that attitude standing upon her trophies, stretched out her right hand to us, and proffered us her friendship.

THUS the *second* danger before mentioned was enervated, if a harmony founded on good dispositions towards one another and mutual interests, could be accomplished.

FABIUS.

April 10, 1797.

L E T T E R II.

IN order to estimate the value of a cordial amity with *France*, it may be worth while to consider, on what foundation her strength stands.

HER situation is most advantageous ; the soil is fertile ; its products are excellent ; the extent of coasts on the ocean and the Mediterranean, and her rivers, insure to her a flourishing commerce, and a vast maritime power. Her population is prodigious. Before the present war it amounted, at a moderate computation, to twenty-five millions. If to this sum be added that of the conquered countries, which in all probability will be ceded to her at a peace, the whole, it is apprehended, must exceed thirty millions. Industry, vivacity, ingenuity, knowledge, and bravery, with the animating and invigorating principle of broad-based representation, give to this population the utmost respectability.

THE other day, in turning over *Polybius's* celebrated history, my attention was arrested by an unexpected enumeration in his second book, of the forces of the commonwealth of *Rome*, when she

had attained to the highest pitch of power, just before *Hannibal's* invasion. The detail is very precise as to numbers, and the countries that supplied them. His conclusion is this——“ *the whole of their strength* consisted in no less, than seven hundred thousand infantry, and seventy thousand cavalry.”

AMONG the particulars, he mentions “ the ordinary people mustered in *Rome* and *Campania*, amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty-three thousand horse.” These, if I understand him rightly, were not armed for immediate service, but might be called upon, if occasions required their aid. Therefore, these words, “ *the whole of their strength*,” appear to mean all the persons able to bear arms.

I BELIEVE, that the learned, in their calculations allow, that on an average, in a number of five or six persons, one will be found to be an able bodied man. Let a rule much more restrictive be applied, for determining the number of men able to bear arms in *France*, and the result will be, that their number is four times as great as that mentioned by the historian.

THIS is a gigantic power indeed. If it appears tremendous to some, let them amuse their fancies,

if they please, with whittling it down as much as they can; but, let them not forget, that *France* has actually employed in military service, in one year, nearly double the number of the total before mentioned. Let us go further. Let us strike off one half of the complement which fair calculation gives us. Still it remains a fact sufficiently ascertained, that the strength of *France* is at this moment, twice as great as that of *Rome* in the plenitude of her power at the period mentioned.

NOR is the comparison to be dismissed with this observation, unless we are willing to deceive ourselves. To follow it out, another circumstance must be considered.

OF the seven hundred and seventy thousand men just spoken of, scarcely a moiety was composed of *Romans*.——The rest were *allies*, of which an exact catalogue is given in the history.

THESE *allies* were nations, who by various motives were induced to join the *Romans* in arms; but, so imperfect was the connection, that not long after, a fierce war broke out between these *allies* and the *Romans*, that brought the last to the brink of destruction.

THE power of *France* leans not on such ill-matched supporters. Her power is *native*, and not attenuated by being dispersed in a long, narrow country like *Italy*,* with rivers comparatively of slight importance, but bound together in a compactness blended with facilities, equally propitious to intercourse and consolidation. It is an *Herculean* body, of strength and activity——unparalleled in the history of mankind.

It may be said, that, “the power of states is relative: a mighty power may be encountered by mightier powers.” Granted: but, what is the amount of the observation?

At the time I am speaking of, proud and warlike *Macedon* was a formidable kingdom. *Greece*, famed for arts and arms, abounded with sensible and gallant men. The *Syrian* empire was large and strong. *Gaul*, the former victor of *Rome*, was dreadful.——Above all——with one foot fixed on *Africa*, and the other on *Spain*, the genius of *CARTHAGE*, like a stupendous colossus, bestrode the sea, waving his terrific flag over its subject billows, and in a voice of thunder, imperiously dictating law, hard law, to nations.

* *Italy* is spoken of here, as it was before the name was extended to other countries.

ALL these, in their turns, *separately* became enemies to *Rome*; and in their turns, all the “*lions, bears, leopards, rams and goats,*” * bowed before her irresistible *birds*. † The *Euxine*, the *Caspian*, the *Persian-gulf*, and the *Ocean*, were made the boundaries of her dominions.

AGAINST *France* we have seen *all at once* combined, *Russia, Prussia, Austria, Germany, the United Provinces, Belgium, Britain, Spain, Sardinia, and Italy*.

How she has disposed of some of these adversaries, and how she has disabled others of them, we very well know. What further *proof* of her puissance she may exhibit, time will shew: but if we are to judge of the future from the past, which perhaps is a good way of judging in such cases, it will not be hereafter any more than it has been already, only what the lawyers call a *semi plena probatio*,” a half proof. It will be *full and decisive*.

FABIUS.

* *Daniel*, chapters 7th and 8th.

† The *Romans* took for their emblem an *eagle*, a homely, solitary, silent bird of prey, never celebrated for its temper or its battles. With a much happier fancy, the *cock* has been assigned to the *French*, a beautiful, social, sprightly, generous, good-natured bird, that crows and fights, and, if, over-matched, dies — struggling for victory.

L E T T E R III.

“ IS *France* then to become as dominating as ancient *Rome* ?” I do not know. I hope she never will. But this I am much inclined to believe, that if she ever becomes so, it will be owing to the miserable policy, that forbidding her to return into the bosom of peace, and to enjoy the inestimable and tranquillising pleasures of civil and domestic life, adds irritation to irritation, and *oblige*s her to be a MILITARY REPUBLIC, as *Rome* was. It is evident to me, that on the purest principles, she wishes for peace ; but is convinced she cannot obtain it, unless it be by the sword.

“ CAN *France* wish for peace, when she makes such exorbitant demands ?”

YES. Multitudes of her citizens have been slain ; many severe calamities have been inflicted upon her ; and she has been put to an expence hardly to be calculated. Why ? Because she was resolved to be free, and to “ institute such a government, as to her seemed most likely to effect her safety and

happiness.”† She had a right to be free ; and to institute such a government.—What right then had the coalesced princes to interfere in the business ? None. But they did interfere. She has therefore two other rights springing up from that injustice : a right to indemnification, and a right to security against a repetition of such injuries.

“ Supposing, she has those rights, still her demands are exorbitant, and if admitted, would destroy the balance of power, and endanger the welfare of *Europe*.”

As to the first part of this observation, it may be sufficient to observe, that when *we* were treating of peace with *Great-Britain*, our demands were thought exorbitant ; and they have been thought so since : but, we obtained them. The charge of exorbitancy is easily made, but not easi-

† “ We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

Declaration of INDEPENDENCE by the United States of *America*.

ly to be maintained. The fitness of the application to any particular case, must depend upon a number of peculiar circumstances, and several of these perhaps cannot be by foreigners, accurately investigated or properly estimated.

FRANCE is in possession by conquest, in a just war, a war of defence, for the machinations against her were prior to her declarations. She is the only republic attracting consideration in *Europe*. She is detested by most if not all the princes in that quarter of the world. There is not a government there, in whose good will towards her she can confide. She must take care of herself; she ought to do it; and she will do it: whatever exclamations are made about exorbitancy. Nor is there a great power in *Europe*, in whose hands the objects comprehended in her demands, would be more favourable to general welfare, than in her hands.

SHE has made peace with several of the belligerent powers, upon reasonable and moderate terms. This behaviour evinces her temper; and if nations had more command of *their own tempers* than they now have, they would render more justice than they do, to the character of *France*. They will be undeceived, and most heartily do I wish, that the explanation may not be delayed. 'Tis time the tra-

gedy should end, and that men should look at one another for other purposes, than to aim weapons of destruction.

I AM addressing men of sense and integrity, real *Americans*. They know, they feel, that the *spirit of liberty is a benign spirit*.—From *them* a sacred impartiality—*sacred*, because mingled with sensibilities allied to heaven—may be expected.

LET any one of these lay his hand on his breast, and upon *the honour of a freeman*, answer this question—Whether, if conspiring empires, kingdoms and states, actuated by a hatred unappeasable, because arising from a conduct meriting esteem, had destroyed millions of our citizens, had rendered more millions of fathers, mothers, wives, children, sisters, brothers, and other relatives miserable, and had overwhelmed our country with a deluge of distresses, he would think such *demands* as *France* is said to make, a compensation for our sufferings—or more than a reasonable security against a renewal of them ?

LET *us* remember, how *we* thought and acted on a similar occasion. What the *Mississippi* and the *Lakes*, then were to us, the *Rhine* now is to *France*, with this difference, that our demands as to distant

objects, went more to aggrandisement than defence, those of *France* more to defence than aggrandisement.

WOULD *we* have continued the war for these remote boundaries, this sweeping circuit, within whose flowing line scarcely a trace was sketched of that beautiful picture which is to fill it, if we have sufficient skill? We would.

Is *France* then criminal, in contending for the *Rhine* as a boundary, a river that washes a long tract of her domain, is of immediate and the utmost consequence to her, and is so placed by nature as conveniently to serve, among other uses, for “dividing to nations their inheritance?”

WELL may our allies say to their imperial, royal, and high enemies—“We have not been engaged in childrens’ play, at the end of which each takes what was his own before it began. Our contest may, indeed, have been play to you, issuing mandates for slaughter amidst the safe though soft indulgencies of your courts, * and diverted with

* *There* the soldiers are, at this moment, setting fire to the villages, laying waste the corn-fields, demolishing the churches, and butchering the unoffending people; and in the mean time, THE PRINCE is perfectly at his ease, gam-

expectations of lucky hits : but, to multitudes of *French* citizens it has been—death.”

If it was on your part, as some of you have said, an unhappy disorder that seized you in an extra-

ing, dancing, amusing himself with buffoons, hunting, indulging his amours, or carousing.”

ERASMUS.

In the account of the destruction of the *Palatinate* in 1764, it is said —“ Its flourishing cities and villages were destroyed——Nothing could equal the inexpressible misery ——men, women, and children were driven in the depth of winter, out of their habitations—to wander naked—and starved with cold and hunger—round the fields—while they saw their houses stript, and set on fire——the country was universally reduced to a heap of ashes.”

The late king of *Prussia*, describing the calamities caused in the territories he governed, by the *war of seven years*, that ended in 1763, says——There was a diminution of five hundred thousand inhabitants, since the year 1756——a very considerable number in a population of only four millions and an half. As to those who remained, the noble and the husbandman had been pillaged, ransomed, and foraged, by so many different armies, that *nothing was left them*, except life, and the miserable rags by which their nakedness was concealed. They had not sufficient to satisfy the daily wants of nature. The traces of former habitations were *scarcely visible*——towns were *almost erased* from the earth—and of *thirteen thousand* houses, *no vestige* was to be seen, &c.

“ Such was the *fatal spectacle* which *so many provinces* that had lately been *so flourishing*, presented at the conclusion of the war. *There is no description however pathetic, that can possibly approach the deep, the affecting, the mournful impression, which the sight of them produced.*”^e History, ancient and modern, abounds with narratives of the like calamities.

^e Posthumous Works, 2. 57.

ordinary manner, we ought to observe, that persons in your elevated stations are very apt to grow giddy, and to be much vexed by these fits of insanity ; and therefore prudence requires, that we should keep you at a convenient distance, lest in another frolic or fury, you should destroy as many men, women, and children, as you have within these last four years." (1)

FABIUS.

L E T T E R IV.

WE come to the second part of the objection.

IF hereafter a wild spirit of ambition, should prompt *France* to imitate *Rome*, it will not be her acquisitions of *the Netherlands* and countries on the left bank of the *Rhine*, that will cause her to succeed. What are *they*, when contrasted with all *Europe*? The event of such a nefarious project, would not depend on that point. If it could not be executed without that accession, it could not be executed with it.

THERE are other circumstances that would be much more likely to give it success : and these are the follies and vices of princes.

CAST your eyes around, and behold the condition of the human race—a condition, that while it evidences their wretchedness, and extorts your commiseration, yet amidst *the ruins of man*, bears testimony to the *original glories* of his nature, “whose builder is GOD.”

How have men, “made in the image of their Creator,” become thus depressed? Because their disposition is gentle, social, grateful, well-meaning, and therefore confiding.

THESE qualities they rashly indulged, not duly attending to another divine gift——REASON——the guide and guardian of the microcosm.

No gift of our Maker can be abused or neglected with impunity. His laws are not made, to be broken or slighted.

THE cunning, the hard-hearted, laden with lusts, availed themselves of the means afforded to them by the innocent and the imprudent. They affected to be benefactors, that they might be masters.—— They were too successful. *They* fastened chains upon the very hands that were held up to heaven in supplication for blessings upon *their* heads.—— The interests of the *many*, pleasing hecatombs in the religion of governors, have been sacrificed to the passions of the *few*. Tyranny and slavery, intemperance and misery, have raged, and are now raging, over the globe.

To nations thus steeped in woes, when liberty advances towards them, “the trumpet may give an uncertain sound”——but, when they “understand

it, they will prepare themselves for the battle"—
unless justice be rendered them. *

THE *balance of power* so much talked of, is generally a compact between the oppressors of mankind, settling among themselves, the quantity of mischief which each may commit, without being disturbed by the rest: and I appeal to history for the truth of what I now say. We have had a sample, in our own days, of this attention to the balance of power—IN THE PARTITION OF POLAND—by which a noble nation was despoiled

* The origin, the structure, the faculties, the affections, the hopes, and the progression of man, all concur to announce a destiny, even in this life, incomparably more favourable to his welfare, than the reign of follies and vices, has hitherto permitted him to enjoy.

The vastly valuable gifts already received from his adorable Creator, may justly animate his filial expectations. He begins to discover, *how*, in some instances, those gifts have been intercepted, and *how*, in others, they have been perverted.

The divine works in nature, interpreted by a true philosophy, the authoritative instructions of revealed religion, their united influence in expanding, elevating, and directing the mind, the exciting intercourse as produced by the inventions of the compass and the press, are probably all, together, perhaps with other causes unknown to us, under a most gracious superintending Providence, silently co-operating, like "the wheels within wheels," described by the prophet, to accomplish a mighty revolution, with "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will towards men."

After the miracles of *creation* and *revelation*, the donation of other blessings, however extraordinary, when compared with the present state of things, is easily credible.

of liberty, at the very moment when they were most sensible of its value : a deed, as base and as cruel as any, the records ancient or modern of tyrannical hostilities against the human race, can supply.

I have said *generally*, because there have been some wise and commendable efforts, to maintain a balance of power in *Europe*. I have in my recollection, the alliances formed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and continued to the peace of *Muntser*, near the middle of it, for controuling the power of the house of *Austria* ; and these alliances were crowned with success. I have also in my recollection, the alliances formed afterwards in that century, and renewed about the beginning of this, for controuling the power of the house of *Bourbon*, and these alliances too were crowned with success.

THESE were manly, generous exertions, meriting to succeed, and may all such exertions have a like issue. Should *France* ever adopt the principles that were adopted by the heads of those houses, she will become as detestable as they have been and now are, and will deserve to be with them condemned to everlasting infamy.

WHAT did these houses, the exalted artificers of evils, the illustrious disturbers of the earth gain, by all their policy and all their guilt, all their frauds,

and all their outrages ? Solid misery for *their affectionate people* (m) for *themselves*, one of them a shattered empire, the contempt, of those they once contemned, and a long account of debits, the payment of which is now in a train of exaction : and the other of them provinces and fortresses, whose projecting impediments and terrors, now forbid their posterity even to behold their native land.*

“ *Discite justitiam, moniti, et non temnere*”
Deum——

Take warning——revere justice——and despise not the Ruler of the Universe.

FABIUS.

* “ Unless either PHILOSOPHERS bear rule in states, or those who are now called kings and potentates, learn to *philosophise justly and properly*, and thus both CIVIL POWER and PHILOSOPHY are *united in the same person*, it appears to me, that there can be NO CESSATION OF CALAMITIES, either to STATES or to THE WHOLE HUMAN RACE.”

PLATO, of rep. book 5.

Cicero compendiously describes the character of a ruler, as perfected by uniting temper and understanding, in these two words——“ *mitis sapientia* ”——mild wisdom.

L E T T E R V.

IF *France*, in a delirium of intoxication, should ever aim at the subjugation of *Europe*, or a great part of it, what will prevent such alliances being formed against her, as have heretofore put a stop to the aggressions of her monarchs? To others, the cause will be, as it was then, energetically cementing. Each will know, that his liveliest hope without such alliances is only—to be the last devoured. What will hinder such alliances from being as successful as former ones?—Will there not be as much force in them, as there was in the preceding? There will be, and a greater force, * if they are formed with the same prudence and fidelity.

THE late successes of *France* offer no proof to the contrary. The confederacy against her, was framed on criminal and discordant principles. (*n*) *Criminal*, because its views were—*dismemberment*, and *compulsion to slavery*. As soon as some of the confederates enlightened by irresistable arguments

* Several countries in *Europe* have increased in power since the last century, much more than *France* has done.

discovered, that the scheme was hopeless, or at least that the candle was of more value than the game, they closed the tables.

The principles were *discordant* too. There was no point of union, as in the laudable alliances before mentioned. The associates were not fighting for their *common safety*, unspeakably interesting and impulsive to all, but each for his peculiar share of *plunder*. Some of them found out, that they did not stand so good a chance in this brigandage, as others. In this hunt with lions, the strongest were likely to take all the prey to themselves, and their companions to sit down at the end of it, hungry, weary, lacerated, and licking their wounds. These accordingly left the chace, and betook themselves to a better employment.

IN these respects, the confederacy was defective.

AGAIN—the principal operations were at the frontiers of *France*. This circumstance gave her great advantages; especially if she could cast the war, as she did, into neighbouring countries of her enemies. Her domestic resources were within reach. Contributions aided them. This is a case very different, from that of traversing remote, hostile regions, of climates dissimilar to her own, abounding with difficulties of passage, and filled

with warlike and enraged inhabitants. She has experienced the obstinacy of such obstructions, whenever her armies have entered far into *Germany*.

Look at the map of *Europe*, and see the proportion which *France* bears to the whole of it. Examine any treatise upon the comparative population of the different countries. I don't pretend to be exact, but I believe, none of them estimates the population of *France*, at more than one-fifth of the aggregate. Many of these nations have a redundancy of all the materials requisite for the manufacture of arms, and understand the art of war as well as the *French*. If *their* countries shall be invaded, why should not *they* feel the same passions excited, and resist as firmly as the *French* did, when their country was invaded? It will not be said, I presume, that they will have LESS at stake; for, if the *French* had MORE at stake, *what was it?* It could not be soil or climate, though both are delightful in *France*: for every nation appears to be so well reconciled to its own, as to prefer them to those of others, and it is not a fiction of the poet, when he says——

“*What happier natures shrink at with affright,*
“*The hard inhabitant contends is right.*”

IF I am not mistaken, some learned and ingenious men, natives of the northerly and ruggedest parts of *Europe*, have written books to prove them to be the most charming of the earth. What MORE then had the *French* to contend for, than other nations of *Europe* would have, upon an invasion?—Whatever IT was, since it produced such ardor and perseverance in the defence of their country, humanity must dictate a wish to benevolent minds, that every other nation may have THE SAME animating and invigorating object before them.

NEITHER will it be said, I presume, that the *French* are braver than the other nations of *Europe*. If it should be said, it is not necessary to controvert the assertion. This seems plain, that if they *are*, their friendship is worth cultivating.

OTHER causes for the secession of some of the confederates mixed with those already mentioned.

THE hereditary aversions of *Spain* and *Prussia*, covered over for a while with deceitful ashes since blown off, again began to glow. By the first, *Gibraltar* and *Jamaica* could not be forgot. *Corsica* at the front door, and the *West-India* islands at the

back door, seized by *Great-Britain*, afforded new matter for meditation.

PRUSSIA might acquire more by friendship with *France*, whose potency was now indisputable, than by the ill-concocted and ever-suspected amity of *Austria*. At least it was no inconsiderable point to save men and money, while her ancient enemy was profusely wasting both. *Happily for her, she was not so blinded with passion, as to be incapable of discerning her true interest.*

WHAT a pity ! that a confederacy formed for such glorious purposes, as the preservation of the balance of power in *Europe*, her general welfare, and still more——for the preservation of “*morality and religion*,” should be forsaken for such inferior and shameful considerations ! Yet, so it has been, and so it ever will be, while the rulers of mankind, holding out specious pretences to deceive the too credulous world, are only devising leagues for the gratification of their own inordinate desires. Piques, jealousies, intrigues and temptations of partial advantage, will be continually fracturing a coalition, that has no sound attracting principle of adhesion : or in other words, the same viciousness of disposition that generated it, will infallibly destroy it. “A corrupt tree *cannot* bring forth good fruit.”

WHEN the principle is right, the effect is directly the reverse.

FROM these premises, may we not justly infer, that, if the domination of *France* shall be really apprehended by *Europe*, she possesses adequate means of defence ?

THAT it is really apprehended does not appear to be the case at present, and it is hoped, that there will not be any reason to apprehend it hereafter. On the contrary, the establishment of such a republic as *France*, will beam with an auspicious aspect on mankind. Who that is the least acquainted with their situation, but must ardently wish for its amelioration ? In 1783, congress, in an address to the citizens of these states, declared their expectation, “ that from *our* revolution, *the cause of liberty* would acquire a dignity and lustre which it had never yet enjoyed ; and that an EXAMPLE would be set which *could not but have* the most favourable influence on *the rights of mankind*.” The “ *example*” has been followed by the greatest people upon earth ; and if such vast benefits to our fellow-creatures could be produced by *our* conduct, how transcendant must they be, that are to be expected from *republican France* ?

THE *governors* of nations if they do not learn humanity, will at least be taught to pay a greater respect than they have been accustomed to do, to the happiness of the *governed*. They will be obliged *for their own safety*, to communicate as much as they possibly can of the blessings enjoyed by free-men, to those over whom they exercise authority. Republics cannot easily be impoverished or set a bleeding, by the rapacity, the pride, the rashness, the ambition, or other vices of a few individuals. *Hereditary rulers must take great care, that they do not give cause for dangerous comparisons.*

For these reasons, and such others as a train of thought upon the subject may suggest, it is apprehended, that those among us, who have supposed, that the establishment of *France* as a republic, all her demands obtained, will give her an *unjust* or *improper* elevation, may make up their minds with much satisfaction.

FABIUS.

L E T T E R VI.

ANOTHER consideration of vast magnitude in the present situation of our affairs, is this—— what *will be* the state of *France* at the termination of the war ?

THIS consideration is of vast magnitude to us, not that any one can be so weak as to imagine, it can with prophetic certainty be foretold ; but, because if we think *that* state will be unfavorable to her, we may be led into most pernicious mistakes.

A VERY ingenious and learned writer has told us, that “ *France* will be obliged to return under the former despotism, or will be divided into a number of democratical republics.”

IF we entertain the same notion, perhaps we may act upon it. If we do, and it proves to be an error, even his abilities and knowledge, extraordinary as they are, will be perplexed to calculate the consequences.

THE victories and conquests of *France* have been described in our news-papers. They need not be recapitulated.

“BUT—their armies have been frequently defeated.”

So it has often happened to nations, that at the conclusion of wars have come off triumphant. So it was with us.

It is impossible to calculate the energies inspired by a love of freedom.

WHEN an oppressed nation draws the sword to assert her liberty, all the noblest passions, affections, and faculties are brought into ardent concentration. The collected rays of the sun, that flashed from the speculums of *Archimedes*, were not more irresistible. For instances in point, I refer to *Rome* after the expulsion of the *Tarquins*, to *Switzerland*, to the *United Provinces*, and to *these states*. Any man, if but slightly acquainted with the workings of the human mind, in emotions where self-love expands to sanctity, cannot overlook this commanding temperament.—Whence derived, let those inquire, who doubt whether our adorable Maker loves his creatures of mankind, and approves their vindication of the rights, which blended with their reason, he has been most graciously pleased to “*breathe*”* into their existence.

* Genesis, ii. 7.

“ BUT——there are multitudes of disaffected persons in *France*, who wish for peace at any rate.”

So there were among us ; and so there have been, and will be in all nations under the like circumstances. *Great-Britain* trusting in such tales, was encouraged to continue her work of desolation in this land, till news more strange and true, baffled fleets and captured armies, convinced her that her reliance was illusion.

If a man had conversed with people in many parts of this country during our last war, he might have been induced to believe, that *America* was ready for unconditional submission. But that would have been a mistake. The impulse was given, and operating according to the laws of nature ; but, it was looked for in wrong places : just as if one should judge of the tide in a river, by observing the eddies at its sides, and believe it was running down, when in the channel it was flowing up with a strong stream.

“ IT is said——the finances of *France* are quite deranged.”

SHE confesses it.

So are the finances of her enemies. They deny it. Yet——they beg for peace : she prefers a continuance of the war. Let us put these things together : and————think.

“ IT is also said——the war is continued, because her rulers are averse to peace, through fear of losing their offices at its restoration.”

THAT is to say, that men certainly of eminent talents, appointed by and dependent upon the people, with recent and terrible examples before them, would risk their lives to save their posts. The fact is, that *France* applauds the conduct of her government in breaking off the late negotiation with *Great-Britain*, and so general and so warm is this sentiment, that individuals who loudly arraigned the haughtiness displayed at its commencement, with impassioned praises celebrate the firmness manifested in its dissolution.

“ IT is further said——if the armies should be disbanded, and the soldiers return to their homes, there will be a hideous explosion.”

THAT is to say——that bodies of men, who have given every demonstration men could give, of PUBLIC SPIRIT and LOVE OF COUNTRY,

when received with transports of gratitude on their natal soil, the sweet remembrancer of their earliest and purest pleasures ; where the tenderest affections shielded their helpless infancy, where all the charities of life with untutored eloquence plead their gentle rights, and where even every tree, stone, and brook claims kindred——will instantly be transformed into villains and traitors, and destroy those very objects, for the defence of which they had so long offered themselves——to die.

FABIUS.

L E T T E R VII.

FROM these fables let us turn to history.

ABOUT two hundred and sixty years before the commencement of our æra, a war, of such influence on the affairs of mankind, that though twenty centuries of time have been since measured out, yet every nation in *Europe* at this day, feels impressions from the event——broke out between **CARTHAGE** and **ROME**.

THE *Romans* had not then made any establishment out of *Italy*. *Carthage* was possessed of very large dominions in *Africa*, had made considerable acquisitions in *Spain*, was sovereign of *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and all the islands on the coast of *Italy*, and had extended her conquests to a great part of *Sicily*. She was then, and had been for ages, unrivalled mistress of the *Mediterranean*, the celebrated theatre of ancient maritime adventure, and her navigation alone bounded over the mountainous waves of the ocean.

THE *Romans* got out a fleet as well as they could. But, so inconsiderable was it in comparison with that of the *Carthaginians*, and so unskilful were they in naval tactics, that most of their ships were taken, others dashed in pieces by a storm, and the battered remains retired to a port in *Italy*.

THEY had contrived to transport † an army to *Sicily*, an island of vast consequence to *Carthage*, and there they were successful: but, they observed, that the coasts of their own country lay exposed to the depredations of their enemies, who often made descents upon them, while the dominions of the *Carthaginians* were in perfect tranquillity. Resolved, therefore to be as formidable at sea as they were on land, they ordered one hundred *quinqueres*, the ships of the line in those days, and twenty *triremes*, equivalent to the frigates of modern times, to be built. So unexperienced were they, that a *Carthaginian* galley, which ventured too near the shore had been stranded and taken, was the model for this armament.

THE *Romans* immediately set about this laborious work, cut down trees in their forests, and con-

† POLYBIUS, in his first book, says, that the ROMANS were so unprovided with shipping for transporting this army, that they were obliged to borrow vessels from their neighbours for that purpose.

veyed them to the sea side, with an expedition of which no example was known. The fleet was built and equipped in two months, reckoning from the day the trees began to be cut down.

WHILE some were employed in building the gallies, others assembling those who were to serve on board, instructed them in the use of the oar in the following odd manner. They constructed benches on the shore, in the same fashion and order as they were to be in the gallies, and placing the men on these benches, an officer by signs with his hand directed them how to dip all their oars at once, and with the like regularity to recover them. Thus they became acquainted with the management of the oar; and as soon as the vessels were finished and fitted out, they spent some time in practising on the water what they had learned on shore.

THE exertions of the *Romans* on this occasion, appeared so astonishing to *Polybius*, that they engaged him to undertake writing a history of the war.

AFTER various success, this fleet was almost wholly destroyed by a storm. The *Romans* got out another. That was destroyed in like manner. They were so much affected by these losses, that it was decreed—that for the future no more than

fifty vessels should be sent out, and that these should be employed only in guarding the coasts of *Italy*, and in transporting troops to *Sicily*.

AFTER some time, they resumed their usual vigour, and put a new fleet to sea, knowing they could by no other means keep their hold of *Sicily*, so important to them by its vicinity to *Italy*, and for other reasons. This fleet consisted of an hundred and twenty gallies. The *Carthaginians* with only ninety, met, defeated it, and took all the ships but thirty.

STILL undaunted and persevering, the *Romans* fitted out another fleet of the same force. The *Carthaginians* despising them since the late defeat, sailed out to fight it: but their pilots foreseeing that a storm was coming on, retired to a safe harbour. The *Romans* not aware of the impending danger, kept the sea. The storm came on. The destruction was total. Not a single galley, not a single transport, and there were eight hundred, with a large army on board, and laden with all sorts of provisions and military stores, escaped.

THE *Romans* now laid aside all thoughts of building new gallies. The number of *Roman* citizens appeared by a census now taken, to be reduced no less than 86,575 since the last census was taken.

HOWEVER a large fleet of privateers was fitted out, and the commonwealth lent to private persons, *gratis*, the gallies she had left. These privateers acting together, obtained some advantages over the *Carthaginians*; and committed great devastations. They were afterwards destroyed by a storm.

THE steady *Romans* fitted out at the expence of private persons, to be reimbursed *when the republic should be able*, another fleet. It consisted of two hundred *quinqueremes*. The new armament far exceeded any of the former. It was built on an improved model taken from the *Carthaginians*. Thus, at last well prepared the *Romans* soon gained a complete victory; became masters at sea, as well as on land: and after a contest of twenty-four years, in which they lost seven hundred gallies, while their enemies lost only five hundred, made an honourable and advantageous peace, by which, all their demands being obtained, among other articles, *Sicily* and the islands near to it and *Italy* were yielded to them.†

FABIUS.

† The second *Carthaginian* war lasted seventeen years. As it cost the confederated states of *Greece* nearly thirty years of war, to hew down the enormous and domineering maritime power of *Athens*, so it cost the *Romans* more than forty years of war to hew down the enormous and domineering maritime power of *Carthage*.

L E T T E R VIII.

OF all national powers, that which is chiefly derived from commercial resources, seems to be the most precarious. It depends too much on extraneous support. It must be exercised not only with great wisdom, but also with great virtue ; that is, it must be beneficial to others, as well as profitable to the people possessing it, or it cannot be permanent. *Our Creator never made individuals or nations, to be kind to themselves only.* When attended with eminent success, it is apt to generate a spirit of pride, dissipation, insolence, rashness, rapaciousness, and cruelty. The eagerness for wealth, increases with amassment. It rages. It is a pestilence. Altered nations preserve scarcely a resemblance of themselves. Hardly a feature of their promising youth, remains in their debauched manhood. They, who were worthily diligent and decently frugal, become wickedly active and impudently avaricious : and, they who nobly defended their own liberty, deem it glorious to destroy the liberty of others. With them, justice is a restraint : benevolence a weakness. To use an expression

of *Thucydides* “ Nothing is thought dishonorable that is pleasing, nothing iniquitous, that is gainful.”

LET us bestow our attention for a moment, on *Athens, Carthage, Venice, and Holland*. Each of these states, by the force of commerce, has been predominant over considerable tracts of the world ; and to each of them might many nations say, with the old *Roman*——“ *By our wretchedness thou art great.*” Thus commerce calculated by its nature to be an instrument for increasing the felicity of mankind, (o) has in many instances become a scourge.

If a conclusion may be drawn from a multitude of events delivered down to us by unprejudiced historians, the monitory result is——that the conduct just mentioned will be found ultimately to produce consequences, directly the reverse of the purposes intended by the short-sighted perpetrators——and that where nations raise themselves, by proudly trampling upon others, although they may by bravery and management obtain the most conspicuous eminence, yet, by *the immutable law of our nature that forbids the existence of happiness without virtue*, the causes of declension constantly intermingle with their criminal successes——

“Grow with their growth and strengthen with their strength”——

and at the period when their destroying glory reaches its greatest height, then precisely are they near to their fall.†

EACH of the republics lately mentioned was deeply guilty. Could the murdered and the miserable, the victims of their crimes, rise from their beds of death, and move in silent procession before our eyes, we recollecting the delicacies, the virtues, the tender affections, the generous sensations, that in their persons had been violated and

† How strictly conformable are such events to the divine denunciations in so many parts of the scriptures, against national insolence and tyranny, of which the following texts may serve for examples.

“Thus saith the LORD God——behold I am against thee and will make thee most desolate. I will lay thy city waste, and thou shalt be desolate; and thou shall know that I am the LORD. Because thou hast had a perpetual hatred, and hast shed blood by the force of the sword——because thou hast said, these nations and these countries shall be mine, and we will possess them——therefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy, which thou hast used out of thy hatred against them——and thou shalt know that I am the Lord, and that I have heard all thy blasphemies which thou hast spoken——saying they are laid desolate, they are given us to consume——I have heard them——when the whole earth rejoiceth, I will make thee desolate, and they shall know that I am the Lord.

EZEKIEL 35.

If there be any way of obtaining a perpetuity of national prosperity, it must be by a conformity of conduct to the impartial benevolence of *the Father of all mankind.*

racked into the utmost exacerbation of human woes——though conscious to ourselves that their sufferings were passed, how would our brains burn with anguish, if floods of tears should not relieve us ?

FOR what were these crimes committed ? For no better purposes than——

“ To drink from *gems* and sleep on *Tyrian* dyes.”

I HAD proceeded thus far in these letters, when the late advices from *Italy* came to my knowledge. How the actions there may influence the councils at *Vienna* and *London*, is uncertain. My fervent desire is, that united with other considerations they may speedily produce a peace that will assure lasting tranquillity and a large abundance of benefits to *Europe*, and to all parts of the world that have any kind of connection with any of her powers.

THERE is not a nation upon earth, whose welfare would not give me pleasure : and, as I wish, that the observations now offered to my fellow-citizens, may not be impeached, at a period so momentous to my country as the present, by a charge of prejudice in favor of *France*, or of enmity to *Great-Britain*, I trust, that by the candid I shall

be pardoned, if with anticipation I answer to such a charge.

If to believe that the *French* are engaged in a just war—that their success in it will be favorable to the interests of liberty—that they are as brave, generous, and humane a people as any we know—and to wish that there may be a perpetual and most intimate friendship between them and these states, is to be prejudiced—I am prejudiced.

If to wish that *Charles Fox** may be the minister in *Great-Britain*, and that she may never be con-

* This man's character, with some spots, as it is said, and not small ones upon it, is most resplendent. For comprehension of mind, distinction of points, selection of opportunities, grandeur of design, and generosity of thought, he is so far elevated above his opponents, that their inferiority must be manifest to any dispassionate observer. Well might a great historian say of him that—"he was a man of honor"—and that—"In the conduct of a party, he approved himself competent to the conduct of an empire." Happy would it have been for *Britain*, happy for millions, and among them for the royal family in *France*, if this enlightened and benevolent statesman had presided over the affairs of his country for the last seven years. It is in eloquence he may have equals, but what equals, has he in excellencies of heart?

In his tour of *Switzerland*, *September*, 1788, says the historian in another place, "he gave me two days of free and private society. He seemed to feel, and even to envy the happiness of my situation; while I admired the powers of a superior man, as they are blended in his attractive character, with the softness and simplicity of a child. Perhaps no human being was ever more perfectly exempt from malevolence, vanity, or falsehood."

quered by *France*——that she may immediately, without losing an instant——a perpetuity of consequences may be involved in an instant——make peace with her, on terms mutually advantageous——that then they may enjoy a participation of benefits, enhanced by the participation——and that imitating *the being* to whom they owe their happiness, they may communicate it as fully as the utmost exertions of their united powers will enable them, to others——so that the blessings flowing from their concord, may far, far exceed “in measure, number, and weight,” the evils that have sprung from their discord, and that amidst the joy-born acclamations of grateful nations, they may have an inheritance in the highest human felicity, is to be an enemy to *Great-Britain*——I am her enemy.

WHAT real *American* can desire the desolation of that land, the birth place of heroes, patriots,

What an eulogium, from so able a judge of mankind, and one who disapproved his politics at that time.

If to this knowledge of the man, we add the emphatic import of the memorable words he used in parliament, the beginning of last year, probably all impartial persons will unite in sentiment upon his merits: they were these——“I regard it as a circumstance of good fortune to me that——I NEVER GAVE AN OPINION, BY WHICH ONE DROP OF BRITISH BLOOD WAS SHED, OR ANY OF ITS TREASURES SQUANDERED.

Such a man belongs to the world, and should have a station, from which he could diffuse blessings on mankind.

sages, and saints—from which we have derived the blood that circulates in our arteries and veins—from which we have received the very current of our thoughts—a land, whose meads, hills, and streams point out the spots, where her gallant sons met death, face to face, for——LIBERTY: a land, whose kind-hearted nobles, in every charter wrenched in attestation of their freedom from the gripe of tyranny, inserted clauses in favor of the commons, while the nobles of some other countries, after involving the people in their selfish quarrels, pretended to be leagues for public good, left them naked to injuries, and made splendid bargains with their monarchs for themselves. The after-reckoning soon followed. Their provoked kings broke in upon them. In dismay, they cried out for help, but experienced the holy power of that eternal truth, that——*They who are false to others, are false to themselves.* There was no help.*

To this difference of behaviour, the nobles of *Britain* at this day, in a great measure owe that portion of freedom in which they partake with the people, when the nobles of some other countries are——what I wish to forget. *So much wiser and better is it to communicate than to monopolize those things, in which all ought to share.*

* The enumeration of these instances might very readily be made: but, it is declined.

ANOTHER praise is due to *Britain*——for the purity of her tribunals, in the administration of justice.

THE history of mankind, as far as I am acquainted with it, does not afford an instance, where the stream has flowed so clear, for such a length of time. Power or faction has not been able to pollute it. The poor and the rich, the labourer and the nobleman, have equal rights to the wholesome draughts. There, even peers are blameless.

YET three evils have sprung up on its sides. One——the labyrinth † of roads leading towards it: another——the expences of approaching it. The last is, that some of the agents whose duty it has been to facilitate the access, have for their own profit put up false directions for those who seek it. These evils must be removed. To know their title, to see but not to taste the refreshing waters, is too hard a lot for innocence in distress.

FABIUS.

* “ Res admonet, ut de principiis juris, et quibus modis ad *hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum* perventumest, &c.”

L E T T E R IX.

MY intention is, to present to my countrymen a comparison between the *Romans* and the *French* on one hand, and between the *Carthaginians* and the *British* on the other ; and that then with such reflections as may be suggested to them, by the information their several opportunities may enable them to obtain on subjects of this sort, they may give themselves all the satisfaction that can be acquired from the probabilities of contingency in human affairs, what will be the final event of the war between *France* and *Great-Britain*.

I HAVE not the least doubt in my mind what the event will be : but, this is only the opinion of an individual, sensible that no weight can be attached to his opinion, unless it be supported by just reasoning. Whether it is so supported, is submitted to the consideration of his fellow-citizens.

DIFFERENT things admit and require different kinds of proof. We do not see sounds or hear light. Things in themselves may be equally true, and yet to us not be capable of the same *kind* or *de-*

gree of evidence. From the misty regions of possibility, we rise through the pleasing grades of probability, till we arrive at *moral certainty*, its highest cheerful point. To demand another *kind* or a greater *degree* of evidence than the case allows, is to *deceive* ourselves. It weakens, and with a particular disposition destroys the force of that evidence which we really have. One error leads to others; and *this temper*, if indulged, will conduct us into absurdity, contempt of verity, and a fatal rashness. We may think ourselves at liberty, to determine against propositions supported by strong evidence, without any evidence equally or nearly as strong to justify that determination. *Hence the wisdom of INFIDELITY.* But, we *are not* at liberty to decide, with this imperious peevishness. *Reason* forbids it; and the constitution of our nature enforces the prohibition, by its accompanying sanctions. If we were to act thus in the common affairs of life, we should become not only ridiculous, but unhappy too: and if we act thus in great affairs, we shall become more ridiculous and unhappy.

SOME eminent geniuses, peremptorily decide against *propositions*, though supported by the best evidence things of that sort will admit, and for which, supposing them to be true, better could not be given. With *them*, nothing is to be assent-

ed to or believed, but what has the highest evidence. All other things are uncertain, lost in a *terra incognita*, unworthy a place among the tenets of the initiated, and fit only for the dull credulity of the profane vulgar. For *their* minds, inflamed with a lust of truth——“*DIRA CUPIDO*”——*indubitable* certainty will not do. Their aspiring and comprehensive souls must embrace *infallible* certainty.

YET, in the uniform tenor of their conduct, these *Ixions* willingly descend from their beloved clouds, humbly submit to put themselves upon a level with *inferior minds*, and meekly condescend to *be governed*, as *they* are by *probability*; so that *reason* is a very good thing when it accords with their *inclinations*, and a very poor one when it does not. It is therefore very difficult to know, what better faculty than reason they suppose they could have infused into man, if they had pre-existed and been consulted at his creation. *In all probability*, it would have been brilliant—and useless.

If the state of affairs and the course of events in our days, appear to concur in announcing a certain catastrophe, and the experience of mankind in past ages, under resembling circumstances, testifies to us, that we ought to expect it, to reject such evidence *will be* madness, and *may be* destruc-

tion. We have no right to ask, and no reason to look for——miracles.

WHAT were the *Romans* when they entered into their controversy with the *Carthaginians*, in comparison with the *French* at this time? Vastly—if I did not esteem the word consecrated, I should perhaps have said, *infinitely*——inferior.

THE *French* have not yet been again, and again, and again, and again, “with the besom of destruction,” swept off the seas. They have *some* knowledge of naval affairs; *some* ships on the ocean, *some* in the *Mediterranean*, and they have materials for building *some* more. They have *some* ships of *Spain*, and *some* of the *United Provinces*, to strengthen their fleets and squadrons. They have given *some* blows in all the four quarters of the world, and are very vigorously preparing to give *some* more.

THE future ones will probably be more direct and piercing. From their whole management against their enemies it appears, that they have adopted the maxim of an experienced general of antiquity——“*Strike at the head.*” The application has been as successful with them as it was formerly. The instances need not be mentioned.

Great-Britain strikes at the nails of *France*. What has she got by it? Some hogsheads of sugar. What more? Some bags of coffee. What has she lost? Millions of money, and myriads of men—brave men—generous men—loyal men—true men—a bad bargain.

THE farce of *Corsica* is ended. *Toulon*, one of the strongest harbours known, some how or other the *British* got. Keep it they could not, any how. Their “*protection*” is perdition. Witness its inhabitants and the coasts of *France*. Their “*alliance*” is convulsion. Witness the *United Provinces*. What their “*respect*” is, the states of *Italy*, and some other states, can tell. Their fleets have been so triumphant, that most of the ports in *Europe* are shut against their commerce. More, it is likely, will be shut. *Ours*, indeed, are open to them. I acknowledge the greatness of this advantage.

SOME other of their acquisitions ought to be mentioned. They have seized the *cape of Good Hope*, parts of *Ceylon*, and the *Molucca islands*.

OF what importance are these places, as to the *sum of the war*? Absolutely of none. They are worse. They will weaken their efforts at home

and near home. If they were to make more such acquisitions, it would be still worse. They may go on victoriously in this way, till they conquer themselves——into destruction ; and the successors of the ancient *Gauls* may well laugh, as I doubt not they do, to see their rough predecessor's maxim so whimsically reversed, from "*Væ victis*," to "*Væ victoribus*."

ONE strong grasp on *Ireland*, or any county in *Britain*, will obtain a restoration of all her acquisitions——*and more*.

WILL the *French* never make such a grasp ? If the war continues a little longer, most certainly they will. They have hitherto been employed in clearing their way to the bosom of *Britain*. I dread the blows that will be struck *there*. Can *British* skill, great as it is, command the winds ? Can *British* valor, distinguished as it is, act where it is not ? How often have their fleets been locked up for weeks together by gales, at the same time fair for the operations of enemies if determined on a descent ? From *Brest* to the *Dollart Sea*, the whole confronting coasts are hostile, with a variety of inflections exceedingly favourable to invasion of the opposite shores. *England* had a very strong

fleet, when invaded by *William* the first; and also when invaded by *William* the third.†

BESIDES, the *French* entertain a livelier resentment against *Great-Britain*, than against any of her enemies. Their exertions against her will therefore be *more* intense, if possible, than they have been against their other enemies. If they should be so, the word *more* just now used, will be found to denote something greater than an *Iliad*.

Et dubitemus ad huc virtute extendere vires ?

VIRGIL.

And doubt we yet by virtuous acts to rise,
When fame, when safety is the mighty prize ?

RISE ! RISE ! my brethren ! *Punic* foes o'ercome——

RISE ! the “*lov'd allies*” of majestic *ROME*.

FABIUS.

† In the year 287, *Carausius* assumed in *Britain*, the imperial purple and title of *Augustus*. He extended his power over a great part of *Gaul*, and reigned seven years. He was succeeded by *Allectus*. The emperor *Constantius* determined to attempt the recovery of *Britain*. The weather was favourable to the enterprize. “The *ROMANS*, under the cover of a thick fog, escaped the fleet of *Allectus*; and convinced the *BRITONS*, that a superiority of naval strength will not always protect their country from a foreign invasion.”

L E T T E R X.

A CONSIDERATION of high importance claims our most fixed attention—the *temper* of the *French*.

THE great historian who has been quoted, was an eminent philosopher and statesman. He had the best opportunities for acquiring knowledge, by living in times of the greatest action, and in habits of intimacy with the most distinguished actors.

IN the second *Punic* war, the “*dire Hanibal*” was at last expelled from *Italy*, and in the fields of *Zama* the doom of the world was determined.

IN the third war, *Carthage* perished to the roots. (*p*)

WHEN *Scipio Africanus* the younger entered the principal street of the devoted city, then taken, and in flames, he held *Polybius* by the hand. The short conversation between them, it could not but be short, was pathetic in the extreme; and therefore, I hope every reader of sensibility will excuse a recital of it.

As they advanced among the blazing houses, and the flying, falling citizens, *Scipio* with emotion repeated some lines of *Homer* describing *Troy* in the same circumstances they now saw *Carthage*—

“ Yet——come it will, the day decreed by fates,

“ How my heart trembles while my tongue relates !

“ The day when thou, imperial *TROY*, shall bend,

“ And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end—”.†

† The remainder of this speech of *Hector* to *Andromache*, consists of these lines:—

“ And yet no dire presage so wounds my mind,

“ My mother’s death, the ruin of my kind,

“ Not *Priam*’s hoary hairs defiled with gore,

“ Not all my brothers gasping on the shore ;

“ As thine, *Andromache* ! thy griefs I dread :

“ I see thee trembling, weeping, captive led !

“ In *Argive* looms our battles to design,

“ And woes, of which so large a part was thine !

“ To bear the victor’s hard commands, or bring

“ The weight of waters from *Hyperia*’s spring.

“ There, while you groan beneath the load of life,

“ They cry——Behold the mighty *Hector*’s wife !

“ Some haughty *Greek*, who lives thy tears to see,

“ Imbitters all thy woes, by naming me.

“ The thoughts of glory past, and present shame,

“ A thousand griefs shall waken at the name.

“ May I lie cold before that dreadful day,

“ Press’d with a load of monumental clay !

“ Thy *Hector*, wrapt in everlasting sleep,

“ Shall neither hear thee sigh, nor see thee weep.”

POLYBIUS asked the general why he repeated those lines in so tender a manner, in the midst of his success against enemies? *Scipio* answered, that in viewing the destruction of *Carthage*, he contemplated the uncertainty of empire, with a foreboding apprehension, that the most prosperous, might some time or other share the same fate.

THE historian being a man of business, and well acquainted with the world, his observations are drawn from life and manners, and therefore the fragments of his work are held in such universal esteem.

HE tells us, that "*the Romans prevailed by a certain inflexibility peculiar to themselves.*"

HAVE not the *French* sufficiently shewn, that they have an equal "INFLEXIBILITY?" That of the *Romans* appears to have been at times relaxed. When has that of the *French* ever been relaxed? Difficulties, distresses, defeats, varied, complicated, calling on all sides for remedy or relief, they have met with. There have been pauses in their affairs, of prognosticating continuance. What followed? Volleys of victories. Battles lost have been preludes to battles won. Retreats have been waited on by conquests. Mountains, fortifications, rivers fluent or frozen, the heats of summer, the

frosts of winter, have not damped their spirits or stopped their career. There is a spring in their minds, to which weight gives energy. Their cause animates them with inextinguishable excitement. They are fighting for FREEDOM, and are fully persuaded, that they must crush their enemies, to secure it. The business comes home to the heart. The public cause is every man's own cause :

“ And each contends as his were all the war.”

WHAT a *temper* is this ! that, move it any way, has the steadiness of a cube——press it any way, has the elasticity of air.

IF their *perseverance* waited twelve months for a *single object*, impregnable *Luxemburgh*, which they obtained : and again has waited nearly as long for another, almost unapproachable *Mantua*, now probably in their hands too, what will not they venture, what will not they suffer, for the province of *Munster*, or the county of *Cornwall*, either of them the first step to———

THEIR *enterprize* is equal to their *perseverance*. What other nation ever formed, and so far executed, a plan for the excision of a vast *maritime* commerce, scarcely vulnerable on water, by conquering round the coasts of the seas on which it is managed.

IN short, there is no other stop to their efforts, than the entire accomplishment of their designs
—for they

“Think nothing *done*, while aught remains to *do*.”

FABIUS.

L E T T E R XI.

SOME years, some little years ago, there were such things as *gratitude* and *friendship* between nations, believed in by the people of these states, and with a fervor of conviction, in ardor and assurance inferior only to a good man's religious faith, or—they were all *liars*.

THEY were not *liars*. They uttered what they thought. Their tongues were the interpreters of their souls. He who never erred has told us, that “of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh,” and surely there was an “*abundance*,” for our mouths to speak from.

How uncertain, at least how remote, must have been the issue of our war with *Great-Britain*—what an accumulation of distresses upon those we were enduring, must we have suffered, if it had not been for the aids we received from *France*? Let us endeavour as well as we can, to recollect what we have seen, heard, and felt, and to convey our experience to our children.

How did the nation *most solemnly* express their sentiments by their representatives in congress ?

“THE treaties between his most Christian majesty and *the United States of America*, so fully demonstrate his wisdom and magnanimity, as to command *the reverence of all nations*. The virtuous citizens of *America can never forget* his beneficent attention to their violated rights, *nor cease to acknowledge the hand of a gracious Providence*, in raising them up so powerful and illustrious a FRIEND.

——“*THIS assembly are convinced*——that had it rested solely with the most Christian king, not only the *independence* of these states would have been universally acknowledged, but their *tranquillity* fully established”——“We ardently wish to sheathe the sword, and *spare the further effusion of blood*”——Congress have reason to believe, that *the assistance so wisely and generously sent will bring Great-Britain* to a sense of justice and moderation, *promote the interests of France and America*, and *secure peace and tranquillity*, on the most firm and honourable foundation. Neither can it doubted, that those who administer the powers of government, within the several states of this union, will *cement that connection with the subjects of*

France, the beneficent effects of which have already been so sensibly felt.*

“ You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes ; you have by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity : you have persevered till these United States, AIDED BY A MAGNANIMOUS KING AND NATION, have been enabled, UNDER A JUST PROVIDENCE, to close the war in *freedom, safety, and independence*.†

“ IF other motives than that of *justice* could be requisite on this occasion, NO NATION COULD EVER FEEL STRONGER ; for to *whom* are the debts to be paid ?

“ To AN ALLY, in the first place, who to THE EXERTION OF HIS ARMS in support of our cause, has added THE SUCCOURS OF HIS TREASURES, who to his IMPORTANT LOANS has added LIBERAL DONATIONS ;

* Journals of congress, *August 6th, 1778*.

† Journals of congress, *Dec. 23d, 1783*.

and whose loans themselves carry the impression of his magnanimity “ and FRIENDSHIP.”—

“ IF justice, good faith, honour, *gratitude*, and all the other qualities which ennoble *the character of a nation*, and fulfil the ends of government, be the fruits of our establishments, *the cause of liberty* will acquire a dignity and lustre which it has never yet enjoyed; and an example will be set which cannot but have the most favourable influence on the rights of mankind. If, on the other side, our government should be UNFORTUNATELY blot-
ted with the reverse of these *cardinal and essential VIRTUES*, the *great cause* which we have engaged to vindicate *will be dishonored and betrayed*; the *last and fairest* experiment IN FAVOR OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE, *will be turned against them*, and *their patrons and friends*, exposed to be *insulted* and silenced by *the votaries of tyranny and usurpation.*”*

How base spirited, how contemptible must our representatives in congress have been, had they not expressed such sentiments with respect to *the French nation, and their chief magistrate*, as they did?

* Journals of congress, April 26th, 1783.

THEY *knew*, that his conduct towards us *deserved* “*the reverence of all nations*,” their well chosen phrase ; for the sincerity, good-nature, liberality, generosity, and magnanimity therein displayed, stand, I believe, unequalled in any instance of negotiation, which the ample repositories of diplomatic literature can furnish.

TRUTH has been cunningly disguised by a laboured compilation, ‡ intended to deceive and irritate the citizens of these states, as if a meritorious vigilance had been happily exerted to explore in a number of political transactions, the base and artful motives that lay lurking, under a pretended friendship on his part towards these states.

THE real fact is, that at the very beginning of our acquaintance with him, which he so diligently cultivated till it ripened into a friendship bearing a profusion of the richest fruits, he came forward boldly, like an HONEST MAN, and TOLD US PLAINLY, that *the interest of France*, as well as of these states, induced him to enter into an alliance with us.

“ On the 16th day of December, 1777, the commissioners of congress were informed by Mr. Gi-

‡ It is distressing to recollect, by what hand that compilation was made.

rard, one of the secretaries of the king's council of state, that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of *the United States*, and to make a treaty with them. That in the treaty *no advantage would be taken of* their situation to obtain terms which otherwise, it would not be convenient for them to agree to. That his most christian majesty desired the treaty once made should be *durable*, and **THEIR AMITY TO CONTINUE FOR EVER**, which could not be expected if EACH NATION *did not find an interest in its continuance*, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended, that the terms of the treaty should be such as *the new formed states* would be willing to agree to if they had been long since established, and *in the fulness of strength and power*; and such as they should approve of when that time should come. That his most christian majesty was fixed in his determination not only to *acknowledge*, but to *support* their independence. That in doing this he might probably soon *be engaged in a war*, yet HE SHOULD NOT EXPECT ANY COMPENSATION from the United States on that account. **NOR WAS IT PRETENDED THAT HE ACTED WHOLLY FOR THEIR SAKES**; since besides his real good will to them, **IT WAS MANIFESTLY THE INTEREST OF FRANCE**, that the power of *England* should be diminished by the separation of the colonies

from its government. That the *only condition* he should require and rely on would be, that *the United States* in no peace to be made, should give up their *independence*, and return to the obedience of the *British* government.”*

ON the thirtieth day of *January*, 1778, the king appointed and commissioned the sieur *Girard* his plenipotentiary, and on the sixth day of the next month, the treaties of alliance and of amity and commerce were signed.

ON the sixth day of *August*, 1778, the sieur *Girard* was introduced to an audience and delivered to the president of Congress a letter from his most christian majesty, directed,

“ To our very dear great friends and allies, the president and members of the general congress of *the United States of North America* :

“ VERY dear friends and great allies : the treaties which we have signed with you, *in consequence of the proposals your commissioners made to us in*

* The history of the American revolution, vol. II. page 63, by *David Ramsay*, *M. D.* the *Polybius of America*.

Of the different accounts “ we have seen of the origin and progress of the American revolution, Dr. Ramsay’s bids fair to be transmitted to posterity, with he strongest recommendations.”

your behalf, are a certain assurance of our affection for *the United States* in general, and for each of them in particular, as well as the interest *we take and constantly shall take* in their happiness and prosperity. It is to convince you more particularly of this, that we have nominated the sieur *Girard*, secretary of our council of state, to reside among you in quality of minister plenipotentiary. He is the better acquainted with our sentiments towards you, and the more capable of testifying the same to you, as he was entrusted on our part to negotiate with your commissioners, and signed with them *the treaties which cement our union*. I pray you will give all credit to all he shall communicate to you from us, more especially when he shall assure you of our affection and constant friendship for you. We pray GOD, very dear great friends, to have you in his holy keeping.

Your good friend and ally,

LOUIS.

Versailles, the 28th of March, 1778.

Gravier de Vergennes."

THE minister was then announced to the house : whereupon he rose and addressed congress in a speech, which when he had finished, his secretary delivered in writing to the president, and is as follows :

“ Gentlemen,

“ THE connection formed by the king my master, with *the United States of America*, is so agreeable to him, that he could no longer delay sending me to reside among you, for the purpose of cementing it. It will give his majesty great satisfaction to learn, that the *sentiments which have shone forth on this occasion*, justify that confidence with which he hath been inspired by the zeal and character of the commissioners of *the United States in France*, the wisdom and fortitude which have directed the resolutions of congress, and the courage and perseverance of the people they represent ; a confidence which you know, gentlemen, has been the basis of *that amicable and truly disinterested system*, on which he had treated with *the United States*.

“ IT is not his majesty’s fault, that the engagements he hath entered into did not establish *your independence and repose*, without the further effusion of blood, and without aggravating the calamities of mankind, whose happiness it is his highest ambition to promote and secure, but since the hostile measures and designs of the common enemy have given to engagements, purely eventual, an immediate, positive, permanent, and indissoluble force, it is the opinion of the king my master, that the allies should turn their whole attention to ful-

fil those engagements in the manner most useful to the common cause, and best calculated to obtain that peace which is the object of the alliance. It is upon this principle, gentlemen, that his majesty has hastened to send you a *powerful assistance*, which you owe only to his friendship, to the sincere regard he has for every thing which relates to the advantage of *the United States* and *the desire of contributing* WITH EFFICACY *to establish your repose and prosperity upon an honorable and solid foundation*: and further, it is his expectation, that the principles which may be adopted by the respective governments will tend to strengthen those bonds of union, which have originated in *the mutual interest of the two nations*. The principal object of my instructions is, *to cement the interests of France with those of the United States*.

“I FLATTER myself, gentlemen, that my past conduct in the affairs which concern them, hath already convinced you of the determination I feel, to endeavour to obey my instructions in such manner, as to deserve the confidence of congress, the friendship of its members, and the esteem of the citizens of *America*.”

(Signed)

GIRARD.

To which the President returned the following answer :

SIR,

THE treaties between his most christian majesty and the *United States of America*, so fully demonstrate his wisdom and magnanimity, *as to command the reverence of all nations*. The virtuous citizens of *America* in particular, *can never forget his beneficent attention to their violated rights, nor cease to acknowledge the hand of A GRACIOUS PROVIDENCE in raising them up so powerful and illustrious A FRIEND*. It is the hope and opinion of congress, that the confidence his majesty reposes in the firmness of these states, will receive additional strength from every day's experience.

THIS assembly are convinced, sir, that had it rested solely with the most christian king, *not only the independence of these states would have been universally acknowledged, but their tranquillity established*. We lament that lust of domination which gave birth to the present war, and hath prolonged and extended the miseries of mankind. We ardently wish to sheathe the sword, and *spare the further effusion of human blood*; but we are determined by every means in our power, to fulfil those eventual engagements which have acquired posi-

tive and permanent force from the hostile designs and measures of the common enemy.

CONGRESS have reason to believe, that the assistance so wisely and generously sent WILL BRING Great-Britain to a sense of justice and moderation, promote the interests of France and America, and secure peace and tranquillity on the most firm and honorable foundations. Neither can it be doubted that those who administer the powers of government, within the several states of this union, will cement that connection with the subjects of France, the beneficial effects of which have been already so essentially felt.

SIR,

FROM the experience we have had of your exertions to *promote the true interests of our country as well as your own*, it is with the highest satisfaction congress receives as the first minister from his most christian majesty, a gentleman whose past conduct affords a happy presage, that he merits the confidence of this body, the friendship of its members, and the esteem of the citizens of *America*.

FABIUS.

L E T T E R XII.

FRENCHMEN fought, bled, and died for us.

“ So they did,” it is said, “ but their monarch bade them fight, bleed, and die for us, and they were obliged to do so, and all our gratitude and friendship, if there was any gratitude or friendship in the case, was due to him alone.”

GENEROUS distinction ! We are to have no consideration whatever for those men, nor for their posterity, nor for their country, because they performed what *they* thought to be *their* duty, and what *we* felt and still feel to be *our* happiness.

How far was our gratitude or friendship to carry us ? Did it extend to *the heirs of the king* ? “ Yes, if there was any due to him ; because *he* was our benefactor.” Futile evasion ! too pretending, to have any honest meaning ! Why not then to *his people* ? Ought *they* not to have been as dear to *him*, ought they not to be as dear to *us* as his children ? *He* was a *Frenchman*——and under the supreme sovereignty of infinite goodness, wisdom,

and power, in his transactions with us, the *constitutional* agent for and representative of all the people of *France*. He was known *to us*, he was connected *with us*, as the *ruler of that people*, not as *the father of children*. What was he without them? They gave him his power, his abilities and inclinations to aid us, *were all French*. His abilities, it is evident to the hastiest observation, were so. His inclinations too, were all *French*; not merely as the inclinations of an individual or *part* of that nation: but, because they arose from that combination of circumstances, that actuating complexity of thoughts, manners, customs, and state of things, whose social operation pervaded the nation, and in which he by the laws of nature partook.

His counsellors were *Frenchmen*. Those who were continually about him, were *Frenchmen*. He was not a solitary being estranged from all the influences of such a situation. No! We have had affecting proofs, that he was a man of sensibility, sound sense, and much useful information.*

* Volumes have been written to stigmatize the character of the late king and queen of France.—The charges, tho' formally made, have not been proved: and when we consider, with what art, and with what designs so many scandalous reports were propagated against *Louis* the XVI. and his consort—and who were the persons most industrious, and most interested as they supposed, in the effects expected to be derived from the unpopularity of the king and

THE *French* loved liberty, when they did not enjoy it. They never forgot, that their ancestors were free, and were cheated out of their freedom : or that their very *name* † attested their imprescriptible rights. Unhappy *Louis* ! to perish at their renovation.

WE cannot recal him from the impassable bourn of his abode, to rejoice with his country in their prosperity, or to render us any further kindnesses : but, supposing him living, dethroned, and permitted to address these states, have we not reason to believe, that something like this would be his language ?

“ *Very dear great friends,*

IN the course of events, over which Divine Providence presides, I no longer govern the *French*. The sovereignty is exercised immediately by themselves. The form of government is changed. *The*

queen, there is no reason for our believing, that a respect for truth has been regarded in these reproaches.

† “ *Louis* the tenth and his brother *Philip* issued ordonances, declaring—1315 and 1318—that as *all men were by nature free born*, and as their kingdom was called the kingdom of *Franks*, they determined it should be so in *reality*, as well as in *name*.”

ROBERTSON’S *Charles* the 5th.

nation is the same. They are the people *for whose benefit* as I CANDIDLY informed you, I entered into treaties with you, of alliance, and of amity and commerce. A pursuit of *their* happiness justified me to myself, in exposing them to the evils of war, and left me at liberty to gratify “ my real good will” to you.

I was persuaded, that our united efforts would bring the war to such a termination, as would compensate for its evils, and that a perfect amity between the two allied nations, would be productive of distinguished blessings to both of them.

We succeeded.

If you think, that the assistance you received from *France, enabled you to close the war on an honorable and firm foundation, in freedom, safety, and independence,*”* and if on that account you regard me with sentiments of *gratitude and friendship*, as I am convinced by your warm and repeated declarations you do, I cannot doubt your compliance with the last request I shall ever make to you, dictated as it is in a great degree, by my unabated esteem for you, an inclination of which the

† Expressions used by congress.

indulgence has always brought me the sincerest pleasure.

My request is, that you may wholly transfer from me a citizen of *France* to that people *who* empowered me to render you essential services, all the sentiments of gratitude and friendship which you feel for me. Those sentiments have been attached to my person, by the station I held from them, a station at the most according to the laws of nature but of short duration, by their distresses, by their treasures, and by their blood. *Place the sentiments where they are most justly due.* If you love me, love those whom I love, and *for whose* “*sake*” I first loved you. *That will be the best evidence you can give of your affection for me.*

As weighty considerations as prompted the alliance, recommend its continuance. It is as manifest to me now, as it was at the beginning of our correspondence, that the reciprocation of benefits will be incomputable, increasing, and never can be obstructed, unless one party should seek to advance itself at the expence of the other, which is not to be expected.”

If these were the sentiments of this good prince towards the conclusion of his life, how much was he deceived?

It was his doom to live, not only in an age of revolutions in government, but also of revolutions in morality.

SCARCELY was his head laid low in the dust, probably in consequence of our liberty being established, scarcely were those lips closed in eternal silence, which never spoke to us but in the language of benediction, scarcely was that existence, to which, after virtue and piety † fair fame was dearest, dissolved, and disabled to vindicate an aspersed reputation, than—a severe scrutiny was made into his unsceptered merits, and it was discovered——by *Americans*——yes——by *Americans*——that *he himself* was not intitled to *our* gratitude or friendship, but was a selfish unprincipled villain.

MUCH injured LOUIS !

THE charges of thy accusers *undesignedly* erect a lasting monument to thy glory. They have proved thee guilty——of sincerely loving thy people. Thy feet were led into unbeaten, unexplored tracts of policy, and thou hadst not been accustomed to its intricate mazes. Impelled by thy benevolence towards us, a young, innocent, oppressed,

† See *Malesherbe's* narrative.

and unexperienced people, struggling in blood, and hardly able to struggle, though the prize was no less than **PEACE, LIBERTY AND SAFETY**, against the then most formidable nation in the world, and by thy tender affection for *France* recently weakened by deep wounds received from the same enemy, thou formedst the kind and generous resolution to help us **AT OUR UTMOST NEED**, though the execution of thy noble design would exhibit to mankind, the surprising spectacle of——a *republic* fostered by a *monarchy*——and in a portion of the globe far remote from thy kingdom——and in the neighbourhood of thy most valuable foreign dominions——and thou didst help us “*effectually*” till every man among us “from one end of our land to the other, and from one side of our land to the other,” “**DWELT CONFIDENTLY**,” with his family, “under his vine and under his fruit tree,” and **ALLIED** with thee and thy people, there was “**NONE TO MAKE US AFRAID.**”

BUT, in directing the course of thy exertions through an unknown wilderness, dangers might start up on every side. Thy accusers have convicted thee, of being more anxious for the welfare of thy people, than for that of strangers——yet——heaven and earth are witnesses that to thee, to thee,

under “*a gracious Providence which raised thee up to be our friend,*”† “*We the people of the United States*” stand indebted for the best of blessings——*liberty.*

“*Manibus date Lilia plenis :*

“*Purpureos spargam, stores, animamque*” *Amici*

“*His saltem adcumulem donis, et fungar inani*

“*Munere*——

Bring LILIES—LILIES in whole handfuls bring

With all the purple fragrance of the spring ;

These unavailing gifts let me bestow :

’Tis all I can—on thy dear shade below.——

FABIUS.

† Words of congress.

L E T T E R XIII.

IT is asserted among us, that no *gratitude* is due to men, and there is no *friendship* in them for us, if in their conduct towards us however *kind* and *beneficial*, they are influenced by a regard for their own interests.

THIS proposition demands our attention, especially as it is industriously propagated, in order to produce a revulsion of the public sentiment from particular objects, which we have been accustomed to view in another light, and that revulsion is intended to bring on consequences, in which the welfare of these states must be deeply concerned.

IN the constitution which our Maker has assigned to man, two dispositions are observable ; *love of self*, and *social affection*. They are compatible, innocently, virtuously, advantageously, compatible, or they would not have been “ joined together.” Their union is the means to good ends.

It is not necessary here to controvert the opinion of a celebrated author, that no ideas are innate,

though he argues with a weakness exceedingly surprising in so great a man, when he embarrasses questions respecting a *general faculty* by deductions from *particular incapacities*.*

It is sufficient if there are *natural propensities*† in man to good. These may perhaps not improperly be called *the seeds* of good. Seeds are the mysterious origins of congenial growths. They are innate energies, prepared for bringing into existence, productions correspondent to laws established by the divine will. But as the seeds of vegetables, require sunshine, air, rain, and cultiva-

* The famous *Grecian* philosopher was more accurate when he distinguished between the qualities of *capacity* and *completion*.

As referring to the human mind, *capacity* is the *faculty of reasoning*, and *completion* is the *act of reasoning*.

It has not been thought requisite to pursue the elaborate investigation of those who contend, that *self-love* and *social affection* are not implanted in our nature, but are gradually formed in us by communication with others, since it is evident that men are so made and so placed in creation, that these dispositions by the operation of fixed laws necessarily and naturally grow up from their make and situation.

For even upon this hypothesis, it is manifestly the good pleasure of our Creator, that these salutary and beneficial dispositions should exist in his creatures of mankind.

† *Locke's* essay on human understanding. Book I. chap. iii. sec. 3. 12. chap. iv. sec. 11.

tion, to bring them to the perfection of which they are capable, so the seeds in the mind require, if the expression is allowable, sunshine, air, rain, and cultivation, suitable for bringing *them* to the perfection of which *they* are capable. Thus it is as to *reason*, an undisputed faculty of human nature, though all individuals do not partake of it; and in those who do, what gradations! from a *Tongutsian*, scraping his scanty utensils and worshipping fetiches made of shreds, to a *Newton*, weighing the planets, explaining the principles by which the material universe is sustained, and the motion of its ponderous orbs throughout their vast voyages determined, and proving the existence of Deity, from the wonders of his works.*

How feeble the outset of reason, how diversified its progress, how almost boundless its advancement! Winged by diligence and hope, it springs from earth, awhile surveys its precious objects, then soars to the utmost verge of our system, there sums its powers, aspires into space, bends its course among innumerable suns and worlds, discerns *immensity*, breathes of *eternity*, and struck into the deepest humility, prostrates itself before the footstool of HIS throne to WHOM they *both* belong.

* Letters from sir Isaac Newton to dr. Bentley.

THIS globe of ours therefore is a *speck* in creation. *Self* is a *speck* upon this globe.

THE well-disposed mind rises through the sensibilities † of kindred, to those of friendship, neighbourhood, acquaintance, and country, all of them

† *Private* and *public* affections are so resembling, that their origin appears to be the same.

Private affections are *sources of happiness*. Our own feelings convince us of this delightful truth. The enjoyment teaches us, to estimate and venerate the *like* happiness in *others*, and to desire its increase. The heart is softened, improved, and expanded by this exercise. *Universal benevolence* seems to grow naturally from such sensations. Mutual wants and mutual dependences, tend to strengthen these sensations.

We know not the extent or duration of the happiness we may produce, by one act of kindness to a fellow-creature; neither can we compute the misery we may cause by a single injury. How much ought we to dread the slightest deviation from our *Saviour's* unequalled rule—"As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." It is scarcely to be imagined, what benefits may be procured for society by an individual in whose mind purity of intention and ardent zeal to do good are united.

Private affections may generate *universal benevolence*, and *universal benevolence* may advance the happiness derived from *private affections*; but, certainly is never in opposition to them. It is a *kindred affection* of the great family of love.

The precepts of the *Christian* religion relating to social virtues, are continually employed in the elucidation, establishment, recommendation, and enforcement of THIS MOST IMPORTANT TRUTH.

Plato, esteemed one of the wisest of the heathen philosophers, on the contrary, in order to produce general affections, deemed it necessary utterly to extinguish private affections. His project of bringing up children at the public expence, and never permitting them to know their nearest relations, would have been an education of ENEMIES TO THE HUMAN RACE.

related, luminous, and delightful. Untired and unsatisfied it travels on. Other associations *still variously recommended*, present themselves. Something is yet wanting: it proceeds. It approaches its designated dignity, and at length recognizes its *relation to mankind*, through a *common parent* of infinite perfections, who beholds them all with impartial love. The mind can seek no more. Filled with truth, it adores the goodness that designed this *system of affections*, and hastens to perform the parts allotted to it in the arrangement.

IN our attention to this plan, we may perceive, that earthly things move on heavenly principles. *Virtue essentially and in its nature* has a tendency to produce happiness: vice on the contrary, *essentially and in its nature*, has a tendency to produce misery. It follows, that all virtue is wisdom, all vice is folly, and consequently, that a virtuous life is the *natural state* of man.

THERE is therefore in the divine gifts no *hostility* to good. *Evil* proceeds from the neglect or

It deserves observation, that so strong is the *propensity* of mankind towards *social affections*, that they eminently prevail among nations, whose form of government or cultivation of their intellectual faculties affords these affections, but an exceedingly feeble if any aid at all. They surely are rays of the original constitution framed by divine wisdom and goodness, that unextinguished by the calamities of their state in other respects, still illumine and cheer even the glooms of savage life.—Love appears to be the band of the *rational world*.

abuse of them. How the neglect or abuse of them in some cases is to be accounted for, is a point not pertinent to the present discussion. (q) Any sincere inquirer after truth may find sufficient reasons,

“ To justify the ways of God to man.”

NEITHER is there any *discordance* between the divine gifts. But, if men will neglect or abuse them, or if they will attempt with a false philosophy to set them at variance, they must gather such fruits as such a culture of their *reason* yields them.

THERE is a harmony then in the several *dispositions* which our Creator has given to our nature, and our happiness arises from the combination of these varieties. Each may be indulged not only innocently, but meritoriously. Man is born for himself. It is not only his right, but his duty to pursue his own happiness. Right involves duty. He grossly errs, if he supposes he can obtain it, by disregarding the happiness of others. *Self love** and *social* are as intimately united as colours in a ray of light. The ray without one of them would be imperfect. The due regulation of the affections is the perfection of man's character. He may not at once attain

* Self-love and selfishness are very different. Self-love has its laws. Selfishness has none.

it; but he may, if he will. By faithful attention, inferior considerations will be made to give way to superior; and if he is not a phlegmatic splitter of a thought or a cold dissector of a sensation,* love for himself and others will be so blended in his mind, that he will not wish to separate them, and perhaps cannot. When the edifice of moral improvement is thus far completed, the man becomes as different from some others, if not from what he himself once was, as the best houses among us are from the bark-built huts of our poor *Indians*.

WE have bodies and minds. Our rights and duties, desires and aversions, affections and passions are all true to *us*, if we will but be true to *them*. Pleasures and pains are held out to us in this life by the constitution of our nature, as motives to right behaviour. Rewards and punishments in another life, are also held out to us expressly by Divine authority, for the same purpose. Here is a double provision addressed to our *self-love*. For what? To

* The word "sensation" is here used in *Montesquieu's* sense. "Virtue in a republic is a *most simple thing*; it is a love for the republic; it is a *sensation*, and not a consequence of acquired knowledge; a sensation that may be felt by the meanest as well as by the highest person in the state."

The love of *friends* and *benefactors* is a *sensation*, It is a law of nature. It is a commandment from heaven."

The cold dissector of a sensation, is of another opinion.

direct us to virtue and happiness. Was there any wisdom or goodness in these directions? Surely. Are we blameable for being guided by them? certainly not. If respected as they ought to be, they will gradually form in us a temper of the highest value and brightest lustre.

WE read of our blessed Saviour in the scriptures, that “*for the joy that was set before him, he endured the cross.*” Dare we deny, that there was merit in his sufferings, because he expected to be rewarded? Or dare we deny, that he was our “*friend,*” and that we are under obligations to him for them?

WHERE will this “*new doctrine*” concerning gratitude and friendship carry us?*

’Tis true, that individuals and nations attend to their own interests, and so they ought to do: but it is as true, that they cannot wisely and effectually attend to them, unless they attend also to those of others.† Human excellence and happiness depend

* See the late publications against the *French*.

† The best establishment for promoting permanent tranquillity, with all the blessings of peaceful intercourse, would be a *generous policy* receiving a real pleasure from the prosperity of others

on the union of the two dispositions. Why should maxims be introduced among us, a young people, to shake this salutary truth? Why should arguments be calculated for checking, and even extirpating from our hearts, those very propensities which our Maker has planted there——benignant and noble propensities——without the cultivation of which the world never can reap that harvest of peace and felicity, which it is destined to enjoy.

It is astonishing, that persons who seem to have a respect for religion, and therefore may be presumed to have a detestation for the theses of some metaphysical *ballooners*, should seriously adopt one of the worst articles in their dreary and chaotic creed, which is——that “men are governed by a sordid motive, if they are influenced by a regard for their own interests:” for, what is the inference immediately drawn from the admission of this *lemma*? This——“That the *Christian* religion, in proposing *such a motive*, is nothing more than a

Europe has been for about two centuries deeply injured by a selfish, monopolizing jealousy of commerce.

The rapacity, the meanness and the folly, that betrayed themselves in *English* merchants and manufacturers, before our revolutionary war, and which with such facility acquired the national sanction of statutes, were samples of the envy and baseness that seeking to gain wealth by impoverishing innocence and industry, have distracted the public repose, and caused streams of blood to stain every quarter of the globe.

See notes to the Farmer's letters.

vile contrivance to excite the fears of men, and then to rule over them by managing their fears.”

THIS *abhorring imitation* is a strange jumble ; an unlucky attempt to reconcile a true religion and a false policy.

ACCORDING to these unfortunately discovered pandects, all the intercourses of life are to be obstructed and embittered, because GOD has made men to love themselves.

“ TAKE care of the pernicious disposition,” say the learned expounders——beware of the wolf covered with a lamb’s fleece. All individuals and nations regard their own interests. Terrible truth ! Suspect them. As to *some particulars*, bravely shew, that you suspect them more than you do their enemies. “ This conduct may bring on alienation.” No matter. “ It may even bring on something worse.” Mind not that. *We never can mistake.* Why should you be so unreasonable, as to trouble yourselves about your own salvation ? None but *the enemies of “ order and good government,”* of “ *morality and religion,*” can be so headstrong. Avoid those *partizans of confusion* : those political *enthusiasts*, who are always dreaming of a heaven of liberty, when they ought to be

working upon the world for wealth. Abominate the *disorganizers*. Confide in *our cool-blooded regularity*. Our conduct is *consummate policy*; and if you *perish*, you may have the satisfaction of knowing, that you perish, "*secundum artem*:" and what an *Euthanasia* must that be?"

I DON'T like this "*new doctrine*." I think we had a better before. I am contented with the volume of nature, the old testament and the new testament. I want no more. These last contain adequate and unparalleled maxims for the conduct of private and public life.

A MAN meets a stranger on business, who behaves very well in it. An acquaintance commences. The stranger recommends himself more and more. An exchange of kind offices ensues. Gratitude and friendship succeed. Does not this seem very natural? Is it not in perfect harmony with our benignant religion?

NATIONS are composed of human creatures. *Gratitude* and *friendship* take place between them, in much the same manner as between individuals, *with this remarkable difference*: the friendships between nations comprehend more valuable objects, than those between individuals, such as national peace, prosperity, liberty, and safety. The

happiness of individuals is involved in these national blessings. Is it reasonable then to suppose, that the grander objects will have less influence than smaller ; that is, that where the causes are greater, the effects will be less ? Besides, there may be a most powerful cement between nations, by a mutuality of benefits ; and this may be so constant, that the first excitement by attention to *interest*, as in other operations of the human mind, will grow up to an attachment of a higher kind, “ *real good will*” towards one another. Who can deny this progression of the human mind ? Who can bear to disapprove it ? Who ought to discourage it ? This attachment will be more speedily, and more firmly established, where the products of each nation are variant and yet peculiarly suited to the other. *Then* the citizens of each are cheerfully employed at their respective homes, in useful and agreeable labours for *themselves* and their “ *friends and allies*.” This is a friendship founded on nature, promising a permanency as lasting as the distinctions between their soils and climates, and such as I am convinced the Author of nature intended to take place among nations, when in his infinite wisdom he thought proper to “ *separate* the children of men.”

FAR different is the case, when a nation “ *ploughs the waves*,” traffics over the globe, depends upon

commerce for her strength and consequence, and exercising all its arts, whatever they are, offers to us the collections made by her dexterity or violence, that she may draw to herself the profits of our industry, and thus add to a power rendered by the spirit and means of its elevation, already sufficiently imperative. "Such a nation," as a sagacious observer of mankind has said, "*supremely jealous as to trade*, binds herself but little by treaties.*

THE grants of such a nation, are manœuvres for obtaining ten fold, and it is very well for the other party if it is not ten thousand fold in return. *There is no just reciprocity in their contracts.* They exchange glass beads for gold dust and ivory.

FABIUS.

* Montesquieu.

L E T T E R XIV.

ANOTHER most powerful cement between nations is—their *resemblance* of each other in forms of government; more especially, if that resemblance is founded on the same endearing principle of *immediate derivation* from the governed, that is, from *the people* of each nation respectively. Then man meets man with a reciprocation of the kindest dispositions. It is private good will, operating through the character of citizenship: it is affection strengthened by communion: it is the embrace of nations—and *if they have common sense or any love of liberty*, this resemblance becomes invested with irresistible authority, when it *interestingly* discriminates between *them* and *monarchies* of other great nations. This is exactly and definitely the case of *France and these states*, as contrasted with *the rest of the world*.

I APPEAL to the feelings of every heart not stone-dead to nature, whether—for *two persons* or *nations* to be *unjustly* and *mortally* HATED—for THE SAME CAUSE—by *others powerful in means* for gratifying their HATRED—is not a strong at-

traction to UNION between *those two persons or nations*? The proposition although political, assumes nearly the force of a mathematical demonstration: and, are we to be diverted from taking this salutary intimation, inspired by nature herself for our preservation, this wholesome, strengthening nutriment, so suited to our constitutions, so cheap too, and so readily and so safely to be reached——that we may *feed* upon ice-creams and syllabubs, however delicately drugged or finely frothing from a dextrous hand?

REPUBLICS have always had *the high honor of being hated by monarchs*, tho' sometimes coaxed by them, in order to be rendered subservient to their views: and *they never were hated so much as they are now.*† If France should not succeed in the pre-

† In the war of our revolution, almost all Europe favoured us. Great-Britain was thought too powerful and too haughty. Every great nation wished her humiliation. Our distant wooden commonwealth, when compared with their stone-built pyramids of power, excited not the slightest apprehension.

The case is now entirely changed. Since France has abolished regal government, and has erected herself into a republic, there is not an emperor, king, or prince, but who detests republicanism with an enmity never to be satiated but by its total destruction. If they can execute their will, not a sucker, not the smallest twig of a root, from which the tree of liberty might grow up hereafter, will be left in the earth. The very soil will be dug up, and “sifted as corn is sifted in a sicve,” to discover and destroy all the seeds of happiness.

sent contest, there is not an elective republic on earth, that would not be immediately annihilated.

On the other hand, *Great-Britain* has given such indisputable proofs of her *conversion* to the modern orthodoxy in "religion and morality," that she is clearly a *confessor*, and almost a *martyr* in its holy crusade.

She has so fully manifested her *devotion* to the cause of *despotism* and *spoliation*, that the crowned *tyrants* and *robbers* now regard her as a bold, sturdy, and ritually-conjured accomplice, that may be *depended on* with unlimited confidence, for the execution of any project of profitable iniquity, provided she is admitted to a share.

Let us now observe, how regularly the plan for extinguishing the light of liberty has been prosecuted.

The United Provinces have by the arms of *Great-Britain* and *Prussia* been for some years declining into an arbitrary government.

Republican Poland was stripped of one third of her provinces, by a conspiracy between *Russia*, *Austria*, and *Prussia*.

No sooner did *France* only discover an *inclination* to be free, than all the great potentates roused up with their usual zeal at the lively call of *their* "religion and morality."

With great cordiality it was resolved, that *France*, then in perfect peace with all of them——and her king reigning in full possession of his power——should be severely lopped all round. The mutilated form was then to be left to their "dear brother and cousin."

The empress of all the Russias as a faithful friend to "humanity, and to the tranquillity and welfare of *Europe*," invaded *Poland*, and in 1794, the catastrophe of *Polish* liberty closed, in a *partition* of the whole republic between *Russia*, *Austria*, and *Prussia*.

The further execution of the plan as it respected *France*, was in the mean time going on; to end it was fondly hoped, as the horrid aggression against *Poland* had just done, in *dismemberment* and *slavery*

Ours would be crushed at once—not under a *limited* monarchy, such as we abrogated twenty years ago as intolerable, but under a *despotism*: for the question *now trying by combat*, is—between *republicanism* on one side, and *despotism* on the other. *Attend! attend*—with all the energies of your souls, my dear countrymen, to this *momentous truth*. The dagger of assassination is at the breast of *America*; and *France* alone holds back the hand that otherwise would strike it in—*up to the hilt*. (r)

MONARCHS, *without exception*, think republics reproachful to *their* government and dangerous to *their* authority. They abhor the *principle* on which they are founded; and the cause of *despotism* has been much strengthened in this century, by the *accessions* that have been made to *monarchies* very great before: *a fact, worthy of our attention and remembrance*.*

Had this part of the plan succeeded, *we should have been left alone*. Then all the resentment and execrations of the triumphant tyrants would have been directed against us, as the *original authors* of all the calamities of *Europe*. What the consequence would have been, he that runs may read.

Thanks to a gracious Providence! that on the plains of *Belgium*, and the mountains of *Italy*, it has been decided, that—*France* and *America* shall be free.

* The great potentates of *Europe* have lately discovered such ample advantages in their attention “to public order and good government”—to borrow their favourite expressions——by joining together to rob and subjugate their

THE ancients used to compress a good deal of wisdom into short sentences. One of them was this——“*Idem velle, ac idem nolle, id demum amicitia est*”——“To agree in liking things, and to agree in disliking things, *that* is friendship.”

AGAIN I appeal to nature, to reason, and to experience. Is it not a strong band?

LET us now attend to a comment upon it: not a comment, where truth is obscured by a cloud of words, or is so cut to pieces by subtle distinctions, that it is difficult for persons who have not been used to such operations, to redintegrate it: but to a comment, which amounts to an *exemplification* so important and extensive, as to PROVE—what are the *genuine affections* of the human mind *on such occasions*.

ANCIENT Greece was divided into a number of states. *Athens* and *Sparta* were the great rivals

weaker neighbours, adding their territories one after another to their own, that a few years ago it did not seem likely, that any limits could be put to the monstrous masses of despotic power which they were continually rolling up.—The republics of *France* and *these states* appear to be capable of becoming by their union and wisdom, the protectors of mankind, from the dangers impending over their heads.

for fame and power. Some of the other states were aristocratical; and some of them democratical. The government of *Sparta* was most favourable to aristocracy: that of *Athens* to democracy. In taking part in the wars between *Athens* and *Sparta*, the democratical states always sided with the former, and the aristocratical with the latter. So again, in controversies between the democratical and aristocratical parties in the same state, the other states were always inclined to one or the other, in correspondence to the conformity of their principles respectively concerning those several forms of government. When I say *always*, I mean, that these dispositions were so general, that there were no exceptions sufficient to weaken the statement. I do not remember any; but I am bound to add—that I have some faint recollection there was one, which was then thought very extraordinary.

GREECE, we find, was split into democratical and aristocratical parties. These were maintained with such animosity, that neither of them ever discovered, that *mildness and moderation are laws of our nature*, that is, of our Maker, which never have been and never can be violated with impunity. To carry a point against their opponents was a triumph in which the short-sighted victors gloried. One

point gained was a step to another. The weaker party, or, in modern language, the minority, enraged by repeated injuries and insults, called in foreign aid, first the *Persians*, then the *Macedonians*, and at last, the *Romans*. After innumerable calamities, the democratical fury, and the aristocratical arrogance were melted down together, into one miserable mass of common slavery. Then at last, when blotted in blood from the catalogue of *nations*, and reduced to *provinces*, they were quiet.

THUS also there was a constant and at length an inveterate controversy between the aristocratical and the democratical parties of ancient *Rome*. Impotent of temper and blind to consequences, they persecuted each other till they were altogether, by their own fatal activity, consigned to the iron domination of as detestable miscreants as ever bore the shape of man.

WHAT is the LESSON which these examples hold out to us and to our allies, for both of us have parties resembling those that have been mentioned. If my weakness interprets rightly, it is this—that each party should treat the other with justness and kindness, as becomes brethren, “forbearing one another in love,” and only, according to the apostle’s uncommon and forcible expression, “*provok-*

ing to good works." *Above all things*, each party is to refrain from such measures, as will inevitably tend to irritation.

THE *danger* to republics from monarchies, and the *connection* to which republics are invited by the *nature of things*, have been noticed. *France* is safe at all events. She is fighting *for us* as well as for herself, and we shall be safe too, if we "Know the things that belong unto our peace," and "ensue" them: and it is to be hoped, we shall escape the dreadful denunciation made to an infatuated people formerly—"But now they are hid from thine eyes." There is yet place for prudence and security.

LET any dispassionate man deliberately consider, whether there are any natural causes at present, or even remotely tending to a collision of interests between *these states* and *France*. I am persuaded he will not find any, but, *directly the reverse*.† Yet the loudest notes of alarm have been sounded through our land as if those inte-

† After other far superior considerations, may it not be worth while to inquire——whether *France* would not consume more of the products of *our* soil than any other nation? And also——whether *she* would not supply more of foreign raw material of extensive use in the *states*, than any other nation?

rests were *irreconcilable*, and that our best welfare consisted in an utter estrangement.

It is not my intention now to treat of the disgusts between us and *France*. They are not the *natural products* of either country ; but political briars and thorns, the seeds of which have been imported, and strange as it is, have been raised at a great expence—in hot-houses. (s)

WHATEVER blame may be cast on the *French nation*, on our side provoking acts have been committed. To acknowledge them would be noble. Some deem it more noble, if it is possible, to conceal them. They are therefore to be HID under invectives and resentments against *France*. For this purpose so many are straining their faculties and their voices : for, many are implicated. This circumstance engages their friends and adherents. Nor are there wanting excitements of another kind to heighten the clamor. If the *remembrance* of errors cannot otherwise be *obliterated*, let it be *confounded* among the tempestuous tumults of hostilities. If *France* can be slyly irritated into a declaration of war against us, or if we can be artfully wrought up to a proper degree of madness, and follow into a war those guides who have long since lost their way, *their* point is gained. Then

*error becomes wisdom, and mischief is dubbed patriotism.**

A FRIENDLY individual or a friendly nation may be of a warm temper. Slighter things from a supposed friend, will provoke more quickly and deeply than from another. In such cases, *consciousness of good will*, especially in seasons of great and perturbing distress, will feel more keenly any appearance of unkindness. The friend is not to be lost, because he is hasty, or in *the heat of combat for every thing dear to him*,† through suspicion of our expected affection, even injurious. An old proverb says——“The falling out of lovers is the renewal of love.” We certainly have been “lovers,” and if we are fallen out, let us make the experiment of reconciliation. The consequences

* “If we are to judge by *reason* alone, it is the *interest* of a minister, *conscious of mismanagement*, that there should be a war; because by a war, *the eyes of the public are diverted* from examining into *his conduct*: nor is he accountable for the bad success of a war, as he is for that of an *administration*.”

SPEECH of *sir Robert Walpole* in parliament.—Tind. cont. of *Rapin's*
Hist. 20. 37.

† “*Res dura, et regni novitas me talia cogunt Moliri, et late fines custode tueri*———
VIRGIL.

“Against my will——my fate

“Surrounding dangers and an infant state

“Bid me defend myself with all my powers,

“And guard with these severities my shores.”

will effect not only us, but our children, and the children of our children, and their children, to the latest generations. We carry on *our* shoulders the fame and fate of our nation.†

It is a mournful but instructive study, to read the history of mankind. There we see their follies and their vices depicted at full length, accompanied by their miserable attendants. The prominent feature is an aptitude to plunge into wars——

“ For man too haughty in a prosperous state

“ Is blind, and heedless to his future fate.”

A CHILD may set fire to a house, but a whole city may not be able to prevent the conflagration from levelling the buildings in every street to the ground. “ Ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum po-

† When *Pericles*, one of the greatest men Greece ever produced, was dissuading *Tolmidas* a rash man flushed with former successes, from attacking the *Beotians*, among other things which he said, he used this “ memorable ” expression, as *Plutarch* calls it——“ If thou wilt not take the advice of *Pericles*, wait for the advice of TIME, who is the wisest of all counsellors.”

Tolmidas would take the advice of neither; but was defeated, and killed with a multitude of the principal citizens. “ Then *Pericles*’s advice gained him a high regard, together with great love and kindness from the people of *Athens*, who looked upon him as a wise man, and a lover of his country.”

puli——obstinatæque feritatis pœnas nunc sponte persolvunt”——“ *All nations rush forward to the effusion of their own blood, and voluntarily pay the penalties of their obstinate fierceness.*”†

It is an observation of antiquity, that——*they are happy, who grow wise by the misfortunes of others.* This direction has been too little respected; and men generally choose “to grow wise by *their own* misfortunes.” But, as truth is never the worse for being long neglected, I hope and trust, that my beloved countrymen will exert the good sense they eminently possess, and stand upon the guard of *prudence and affection for themselves and their posterity.*

FABIUS.

† “*Panegy. Vet. Mamertianus* illustrates the fact, by the example of *almost all the nations of the world.*”

L E T T E R X V.

IN the year 1728, the depredations of the *Spaniards* on the *British* commerce in the *European* and *American* seas, had been for a long time flagrant, extensive, cruel, and reproachful. The *British* nation was highly provoked.

THE committee appointed by the house of commons upon these depredations, after hearing all proper evidence, came on the fourteenth of *March*, to the following resolution, which being reported was agreed to by the house——“ That from the peace concluded at *Utrecht* in 1713, to this time, the *British* trade and navigation to and from the several *British* colonies in *America*, has been greatly interrupted by *continual* depredations from the *Spaniards*, who have seized very valuable effects, and have unjustly taken and made prize of *great numbers* of *British* ships and vessels in those parts, to the great loss and damage of the subjects of this kingdom, and in *manifest violation* of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns.†

† *Tindal's Cont. of Rapin's Hist. of England*, 20. 38.

THE house then came to an unanimous resolution, that an address should be presented to the king, “desiring him to use his utmost endeavours, for preventing such depredations, procuring just and reasonable satisfaction for the losses sustained, and securing the free exercise of commerce and navigation.”

NOT long after, the business was taken up again. “The minister did not refuse to his enemies in the house, any paper they could call for, relating to the affairs between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, and the numbers they demanded were very great, and the time they took up in reading, very long. At last, the grand committee, who continued most assiduously to sit, upon the consideration of the complaints against the *Spanish* depredations, after long debates, resolved——“That several ships, merchandizes, and effects, belonging to the merchants of this kingdom, trading to *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*, have been taken and seized by the *Spaniards*, in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, for which no restitution has yet been made; and that the masters and crews of several of the said ships have been barbarously and inhumanly treated.”* An address similar to the former was voted and presented.

IN 1729, the famous treaty of *Seville* was made. By the first article, all former treaties and conventions were confirmed. By the second, the two kings guaranteed each others dominions. By the third, all engagements by the treaty of *Vienna*, prejudicial to the treaties between the two crowns, antecedent to the year 1725, in which the treaty of *Vienna* was made, were annulled. By the fourth, commerce was to be restored to its former footing, and orders were to be instantly dispatched on all sides for that purpose. By the fifth, the catholic king obliged himself to make reparation for all damages that had been done by his subjects. By the sixth, commissaries were to be appointed on each part to assemble at the court of *Spain*, to examine and decide concerning ships and effects taken at sea, to the time specified in the preceding article——also, the respective pretensions relating to abuses supposed to be committed, whether with respect to limits, or otherwise——and to make report which should be executed. By the seventh, commissaries were to be appointed for deciding all differences. By the eighth, the time for the several commissaries finishing their commissions, is limited to three years. The ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth contained regulations which it is needless to mention.†

† *Tind. Cont.* 20. 51.

HOWEVER, the depredations still went on. In 1730, parliament was daily receiving petitions, complaining of them. The commissaries appointed by the king, in consequence of the treaty of *Seville*, had not been able to prevail on the court of *Madrid*, to name commissaries on the part of *Spain*, so that not the smallest progress was made in obtaining satisfaction for *British* subjects, and fresh complaints were constantly coming in. Every petition added new matter for railing against the minister, sir *Robert Walpole*, afterwards earl of *Orford*, for not declaring war, or at least issuing orders for reprisals. No man was ever more abused. He was represented as a fool, a coward, a villain, and a traitor. The nation was raging for a war.

THE minister endeavoured to avoid it, and persevered in his attempts to settle the matters in variance, by negociation, being well assured, that this mode of proceeding would be much better for *Great-Britain*, than a war. A very great majority of the house of commons agreed with him in sentiment. It was accordingly resolved, that an address should be presented to the king, “desiring him to *continue* his endeavours to prevent depredations, to procure satisfaction, and to secure trade and navigation.” The address was presented.*

IN succeeding years the depredations continued. Various resolutions were adopted in parliament, and several measures proposed for relief.

IN the course of the inquiries concerning these depredations from their commencement, it appeared, that many vessels trading fairly, with very valuable cargoes, and unquestionably intitled to protection under the law of nations, and existing treaties, were taken and confiscated, and frequently with a mockery of justice, exhibiting the greatest contempt. The masters and mariners were treated with the utmost inhumanity and indignity. Their personal sufferings by loathsome imprisonment, or condemnation to hard labour, unwholesome food, iron fetters, and other atrocities, were enormous. One calamity they escaped—they were not compelled to fight against their countrymen or allies.

IN 1738, the house of commons, in an address to the king, used this strong language—"That before and since the execution of the treaty of *Seville*, and the declaration made by the crown of *Spain*, pursuant thereto, for the satisfaction and security of the commerce of *Great-Britain*, many unjust seizures and captures have been made, and great depredations committed by the *Spaniards*, which have been attended with many instances of *unheard of* cruelty and barbarity."

THE minister was a man of spirit, and also of deliberation, qualities not often enough united. He was neither daring nor timid. His comprehensive and informed genius gave him an elevation, from which, with enlightened serenity, he looked down upon the world of circumstances, and presided over conjectures. He firmly adhered to his system of peace and negociation.* He weighed and balanced things in his mind. He judged that much respect was to be paid, to what would be thought ABROAD, and that some regard was due even to the prejudices and mistakes of a power, whose friendship was essential to the welfare of his country: and *from some peculiarities in the state of European affairs*, he did not despair of accomplishing his purpose, unless it was defeated by her passions, so much to her benefit, that those who then blamed him, would afterwards approve his conduct.

AFTER some time, preliminaries were signed as the basis of a treaty of accommodation. In consequence of these a convention was made. The court of *Spain* behaved improperly; and as her de-

* This great minister was advised by some of his friends, to tax the *British* colonies in *America*. He had the wisdom and generosity to reject that advice, observing that *Great-Britain* obtained sufficient advantages from their commerce. Such advice was pursued some years afterwards, and the consequences are well known.

mands amounted to a claim of *perpetual right* to make seizures and captures *in time of peace*, on the same pretences that she had before acted upon, the nation was so inflamed, that in 1739, war began. In 1748, it ended, *without the least compensation whatever being obtained* in the treaty of peace, for any of the *property* the *Spaniards* had unjustly seized, or for any of the *excesses* they had committed. War is a great burier.

LET us attend to what some years afterwards, calm and impartial *British* history says upon the subject.

“ THE main question for which the war was originally entered into, which was the commercial disputes between *Spain* and *Great-Britain* in the *West-Indies*, seemed to have been dropped, and mentioned in the treaty only for form sake, while each of those nations, though mutually weakened, found themselves in the very same condition they were in before the war. *The sober, sensible part of the people of England*, began now to speak with reverence of the earl of *Orford's* *pacific administration*, and those who had been his greatest enemies, seemed at a loss to account for the reasons, why the war had been entered into.”*

WHAT has been, now is, and in succeeding ages will be the character of that man, with all persons who are capable of forming a judgment of it? *Chatham*, who had been one of his most violent opponents, lived to discern, and generously to acknowledge his superior merit. The excellent *Johnson* styled him “a star of the first magnitude;” and it is apprehended, that it will be generally agreed, that he was one of the wisest ministers that *his own country*, or any other ever had.

Look at *Britain* now; and see to what a condition she is brought, by being committed to the disposal of ministers of a different character.

IN defiance of all dissuading considerations, in contempt of all energetic reclamations, her rulers courted a rupture with *France*. They obtained it. What with it? In *Europe* and *America*, the destruction of her brave soldiers and sailors, by sword and pestilence——in *Africa*, the ruin of her settlements——in *Asia*, her *Indian* empire tottering——assuredly to fall——her bank, the sanctuary for silver and for gold, shut——(t) distrust palsyng her exertions——confusion catching her affairs from one to another, as a contagion——her enemy “running upon her like a giant”——and

“ *Britain*, ocean’s trident-bearing queen,”

BRITAIN herself in imminent danger of invasion.

It seems as if some sin had been working at the root of her full-blown prosperity, for about a quarter of a century. Let us reflect.

WE read in a book well worth reading, of “the iniquity of a people being *full*,” and then of punishment coming.

At the period alluded to, *Britain*, not innocent in other respects, as weeping nations have felt, then “put forth a hand” and profanely touched *the ark of liberty*. She drew it back wounded and withered. Not long afterwards, *the friend of mankind* appeared within sight of her shores. Uninstructed by her “*own misfortunes*,” again she precipitated herself into the same violation of duty; unprovoked, quarrelled with a people imitating the example of her better days, resolved to be free, and even supplicating her neutrality, when her compliance with the equitable request, would have penetrated *France* with gratitude, and in all probability have saved the family for which she pretended to arm. She in her turn has supplicated, as vainly.

IF it be consistent with the providential government of the world, that another instance of divine displeasure against national abuses of manifold and vast blessings be not, for a warning to others "*at which both the ears of every one that heareth it shall tingle,*" given in that people, may heaven in mercy be graciously pleased to save an offending yet generous nation, from the madness of its governors. Perhaps, "the place may be spared for the righteous that are therein"—for they are many.

NOR does *Britain* afford the only example of the avenging calamities that appear in the established economy of human affairs, to be bolted and rivited on *Christian* nations particularly, who engage in such iniquitous enterprises. I say *Christian* nations, for as they offend against greater light, their guilt is more glaring, and their punishment more audaciously invoked.—I shall select one more from the roll of national crimes.

SPAIN on some part of whose dominions, it is boasted, that the sun is always shining, determined by every cruelty to extinguish the liberty of the *United Provinces*—a dot, that on a map of the globe, must be closely searched for to be discovered. *Spain* was then thick clotted over with *American* gore. A dreadful incumbrance!

The *dot* prevailed against *the wide extended realms* that spread from the confines of the arctic, to those of the antarctic circle, and stretched with belting longitude round both hemispheres. They fell, and—"great was the fall." The triumph over her by so puny a foe, was beyond expression amazing. The history of mankind could not supply a parallel; and yet—another event took place, that distanced the wonder,

THE MIGHTY POWER, "at which the world turned pale!"

sunk—down—exhausted—in the contest. Soon afterwards, in the changeful course of human affairs, it implored and obtained the PROTECTION of the *little* people, which in *its* day of delusion, unconscious of the concealed *preserving* blessing it strove to *destroy*, it had doomed to perdition—against a tyrannic conqueror, who in *his* day of delusion was insultingly "stamping with his feet," upon its debilitated frame.

LET *us* be admonished by these tremendous examples.

OF *all improbabilities*, the establishment of a republic in *France*, would some few years ago have been judged *the most improbable*. From *principle, magnitude, and connection*, it seems to

announce a new series of events on earth. "Secret things belong unto the LORD our GOD; but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and to our children forever."

THE *French* are contending for the rights granted to them by the charter of their CREATION. "Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this council, or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but, if it be of GOD, you cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against GOD."

OUR path is very plain. Let us not be inveigled from it, by a mean desire to cover *our own faults*, by the fanciful notions of a *political refinement*, or by an unjustifiable rage for *speculations* * upon the welfare of us and our posterity. Let us assert and maintain *our true character*——*sincerity* of thought, and *rectitude* of action; and convince the world, that *no man*, or *body of men*, whatever advantages may for a while be taken of our *unsuspecting confidence*, shall ever be able to draw

* By the direful *experiment* of changing our republican form of government into a hereditary monarchy and aristocracy; a change that never can be effected, but by destroying the blessings we actually enjoy, deluging our land with blood, and blasting the hopes of mankind.

What horror must the contemplation of *such events* inspire!

this nation out of the direct road of a honest, candid, and generous conduct. *The sun of truth will sooner or later dissipate the mists of fallacy, and shew things as they really are.*

WE have nothing to do, but to quit the *new fangled philosophy* of imaginary vortices in politics and faithfully adhere to the *good old precepts* of common sense, and to the *sound dispositions* of human nature; with a noble and a pious faith to *believe*, that there are such things on earth as gratitude and friendship, *tho'* God *has* so formed men, that they are influenced by a regard for their own interests: in short to return to the wise and just sentiments which we heretofore entertained for *those* who *first* acknowledged our *independence*, and set the blessed example to others——*those* who nationally and individually, upon every occasion, through every period of *our* contest, uniformly and constantly manifested the most affectionate attachment to us——*those* to whom, under “*a gracious Providence,*” we owe our “*peace, liberty, and safety,*” as we have *repeatedly* and *solemnly* declared to all mankind——for ever to renounce the detestable position, that we ought to select *them* out when surrounded by distress, and fighting the battles of freedom to be the first objects, against whom we are to exert *that very sovereign power they were instrumental* in conferring upon us; the *first* peo-

ple, into whose hearts we are to plunge *those very swords that by their aid at the expence of their blood and their treasure* have been put into our hands. HEAVEN FORBID! that *American gratitude* should become a by-word among civilized nations to the latest ages, emphatically to describe that supremacy of depravity, which no other terms can fully define. Then, indeed, it may be some consolation to our darkened and perverted minds, that "*punic faith*" will be its allied companion.

FABIUS.

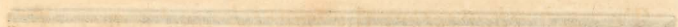
...into whose hearts we are to plunge their very
words that by their aid at the expense of their
blood and their treasure have been put into our
hands. Heaven reward that American youth
who should become a by-word among civilized na-
tions as the latest eyes, emphatically to describe
that supremacy of oratory, which no other nation

consolation to our darkened and perverted minds,
that "dark faith" will be its allied companion.
At the notes in the following appendix, except
the two at letters (m) and (n), and the notes in pa-
ges 89, 92, 100, the last note in page 119, 124,
125, 137, 140, 142, 152, 153, 154,
186, 190, 207, 214, 242, 252, 255 and 256 of the
letters of Fabius, have been added since the edition
in 1797.

APPENDIX



ALL the notes in the following appendix, except the two at letters (*m*) and (*n*), and the notes in pages 89, 99, 100, the last note in page 119, 124, 125, 137, 142, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 183, 184, 188, 190, 207, 214, 242, 253, 255 and 256 of the letters of *Fabius*, have been added since the edition in 1797.



APPENDIX.

(a) **MANKIND** possessing present good are too frequently inattentive to future evil.—Thus, when a nation has bravely recovered its liberty by a revolution, it is too apt to slide into an opinion, that all things are safe. The people then sink into carelessness and confidence, and thereby tempt the ambitious, the selfish, and the unprincipled, to fasten new fetters upon them in place of the old.

To *such* characters the *wealth and power of a nation* are vast temptations. To partake of them jointly in common with their fellow-citizens, appears to their aspiring genius too low a condition. Accordingly they eagerly engage in schemes to gain for themselves an undue proportion; and in all ages and in all countries they uniformly employ the same means. They begin with fraud and conclude with violence.

MEMORABLE are the instances that will strike an attentive observer of human affairs, shewing, that the time which immediately follows the escape of a free people from a great danger, is itself a period of great danger.

THUS, the *Greeks* not many years after their united forces had repulsed the hosts of *Persia*, began those foolish and inveterate feuds, which continually enfeebled them, and in the conclusion fixed the galling yoke of *Macedon* upon their—till then—unbending necks.

THUS, when the *Romans* had subdued *Carthage*, and were relieved from all fear of that once formidable rival, they shortly after divided into factions, that constantly harrassed them, and at last destroyed their liberty.

THUS, *England* emancipated by the restoration from the despotism of her own army, quickly declined into a disgraceful submission to the profligate *Charles* the second, that cost her the lives of many excellent patriots, and exposed her to the utmost hazards.

THUS, the same kingdom soon after being delivered by the revolution from all apprehension of the perils that then threatened it, began to feel a subtle

undue influence * of the crown over the parliament, more mischievous than the open demands of prerogative, that has involved it in unnecessary wars, portentous debts, and oppressive taxes, together with a large standing army, septennial elections, and continued persecution of sincere christians, honest men, and faithful subjects, for differences of opinion in religion.

WHAT other evils may be experienced from that influence time will discover.

ANOTHER truth respecting the vigilance with which a free people should guard their liberty, that deserves to be carefully observed, is this—that a *real* tyranny may prevail in a state, while the *forms* of a free constitution remain.—To mention no more instances, thus *Henry* the eighth exercised an absolute despotism in *England*, while all his enormities were sanctioned by the authority of parliament.

* That execrable tyrant *Louis* the eleventh of *France*, by influencing the election of representatives, by bribing or overawing the members, and by various changes which he made in the forms of their deliberations, acquired such an entire direction of the national assemblies, that from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely subservient to the most odious measures of his reign.

He first taught other modern princes the fatal art of becoming arbitrary by CORRUPTING THE FOUNTAIN OF PUBLIC LIBERTY.

This oppressor and murderer assumed the titles of “*majesty*” and “*most christian*,” formerly not claimed by the kings of *France*.

LET us therefore keep in perpetual remembrance, that *the provisions established for the security of liberty may be converted into engines for its destruction.*



(*b*) The excellent *Hoadley*, afterwards bishop of *Winchester*, in his celebrated treatise on “civil government,” strenuously asserting and defending *the principles of freedom*, prudently availed himself of the sentiments of the learned and pious *Hooker*, who was well known to be an orthodox church-man, and a faithful royalist. The following quotations are extracted, from that work.

“HE, (*Hooker*) expressly founds civil government upon the voluntary agreement, composition, or compact of the members of the governed society; from whom originally comes all the authority of governors: so expressly, that he declares it impossible, that any should have complete lawful power but by this consent, in the ordinary course of God’s Providence. He leaves it entirely as a thing indifferent, to the free consultation and deliberation of men, what form of government shall be tried or established. He plainly enough teacheth, that the first trial or compact, doth not so oblige

the governed society, but that upon experience of universal evil, they have *a right* to try by another form to answer more effectually *the ends of government*——It could not, it seems, appear tolerable to him, to lodge in the governors of any society, an unlimited authority to annul, and alter the constitution of the government, as they should see fit; and to leave to the governed the privilege only of absolute subjection in all such alterations——He thought the laws a rule to the prince, as well as the subject, and the executive power bound to the due execution of the laws.

Tho' he places the authority of governors, after their appointment, above any particular members of the society, yet he doth not place it above *the whole governed society*, or *people* or *body politic*. Tho' therefore the separate interests of individuals must yield to it, yet *the united interest of the whole* must be of greater consideration: according to which notion he interprets *Rom. 13. 1.* as to which place of scripture I observe likewise, he interprets it equally with respect to all forms of government; not with a particular view to the *Roman emperor*, exclusively of *the senate*, but with a general regard to all who have lawful power of legislation.——It must follow from his principles, whether he said it, or thought it or not, that no *governor* can have authority to ruin the *governed society*; it being im-

possible, that *any people* should give any *such authority* by *their compact*: or, that *any authority* should be devolved upon him by *the will of God*, but what is *requisite for the ends of government*—to which this is absolutely repugnant. Authority given to a governor, to judge of *private injuries*, and to guard against *public enemies*, cannot imply in it an *authority to do injuries*, or to become a *public enemy himself*: but the contrary.

It follows therefore likewise, that after such compact and composition, there must remain in the governed society *a right* to defend, and preserve itself from ruin, as well if this governor should attempt it himself, as if he should encourage, or carelessly permit any other public enemy to attempt it, or absolutely refuse to use the power lodged in him for the frustrating such an attempt from abroad——

BUT, it is asked by many, where this *original contract* is to be seen, upon which *civil government* is founded? Why it is not printed for the benefit of mankind, that recourse may be had to it upon all occasions? and many *the like ingenious questions* are put upon this subject. It is enough to answer—that when the *original commission* given from *heaven*, at the beginning of the world, or immediately after the deluge, is discovered and laid before us

in plain characters, empowering *all princes* to rule by *their own wills*, and raising them *above all opposition* on any account whatsoever——when this *Divine commission*, I say, is produced, then it will be time to triumph; because the *first contract* cannot. But, *till that time comes* it is as good an *argument* against any such *Divine commission* as is contended for, that the *original* of it is not to be found among the *ancient records*, as it is against *contract* and *compact*, that no *authentic draught* of the *original contract* between *king* and *people* can be produced.

As to this therefore, *the two opposite suppositions* are upon a level——the chief question is not, whether there was ever such a *contract* formally and actually made, but *whether mankind had not a right to make it*: for if they had, *civil government*, in the ordinary course of things, could be *rightfully* founded upon nothing else but *this* or *what is equivalent* to it, a *tacit consent* of the *governed*; and since the *latter* must be of the same effect with the *other*, this may be sufficient for our present purpose, unless any persons think fit to call also for the *original draught* of a *tacit consent*.”

In another place the author observes, that——
 “There may be a *tacit consent*, where there was no *formal contract*, or preceeding state of no-go-

vernment : and *power* may keep a community from exerting a *right*, which nevertheless it hath within itself.”

AFTER having vindicated in a most masterly manner *the principles of liberty* as carried into effect by *British patriots* at the *revolution* in 1688, with a generous indignation he exclaims——“ How unlike to *these days* !” [The latter part of queen *Anne’s* reign, when *tories* were triumphant——] “ *In which, these principles* are by many writers styled the principles of *confusion* and *disorder* ; and *the maintainers of them* not allowed to have any better *title* than that of the *sons of Belial* ; nor be under any better *influence* than that of *Beelzebub* ; nor to copy after any better *pattern* than that of *Lucifer* ; nor to have any better *character* than that of *atheists* or *deists*, nor to deserve any better *fate* than that of *apostates* and *rebels*.”

Hoadley on civil government—edition of 1710.



(c) INFINITE wisdom and goodness having determined, that it was better to make such creatures as men than not to make them, in consideration of the *nature* assigned them, graciously diffused through *the constitution of things*, a variety of pro-

visions adapted to their inward frame and outward condition, for leading them to a proper employment of the powers bestowed upon them.

THIS constitution of things is, as it were, a *compression*, that gives *efficacy* to the *living elasticity* in man. Accordingly, his faculties are stimulated by necessities ; his efforts sustained by gradual progressions ; and his acquisitions enhanced by the circumstances that retarded them.

OTHER creatures *without controul* act up to the *utmost* of their capacities ; but, man has powers *entrusted* to him, which he is not to exercise in the *extreme*.† His ardent and strongly impelling

† “Thou shalt not eat,” &c. Gen. ii. 17. Every prohibition laid by his Creator on man, is a kindness——intended to admonish him——and to raise up his thoughts to a superior good, *actually appointed for him*, if he will accept it. These prohibitions do not relate to another life only. Obedience to them promotes the welfare of this life also ; and it would be the real interest of man to observe them, even if he was not to live in another world : so that in truth, he is to be rewarded with happiness hereafter, *by consenting to observe the best rules for promoting his happiness here*. Such are the ways of HIM with whom we have to do. Therefore, the *laws of life* are *directions*, that point out to man the path, by which he is to ascend through the temperate climes of virtue, to the nightless regions of unfading felicity.

“ Nature is composed of incomprehensibly various parts, and yet a regular consistent scheme, and upon the whole, of inviolable connection. We see nothing redundant, nothing short or confused, in respect of the general intent

desire of happiness, finds itself *regulated* by the eternal tables of justice and order : while from the *legitimate* exertion of his powers, there is a continual germination of benefits.

WHEN drawn together by motives designed in the beginning to have this operation, men formed themselves into civil societies, *their* thoughts most probably extended no farther than their peculiar situation at that time. But, from *this union* the Divine economy has produced, as it were, *a new creation* of energies.

and scope of being, nothing incongruous to its own nature. Whatever *is*, maintains its distinct rank, prosecutes its appointed course, contributes its proportion to the beauty and happiness of the universe, interferes with no other part of the constitution, nor omits its peculiar operations. We find in every part of the GOD of nature's stupendous workmanship, two different, but strictly united and confederate views pursued ; the preservation of the individual, whether it be plant, mere animal, or reasonable man——and *the making all to centre in one common point of universal order and use*. We find uniformity constantly mixed with variety, and the balance of both so nicely, and with more than geometrical skill, adjusted, as to produce no appearance of disorder, as far as our observations are capable of reaching ; and as we have good ground to believe, from what we see and know, to the utmost limits of creation.”*

“ It is possible, that there may now be *as many* of the highest order of intelligences, as there would have been, if only that single order had been created——and likewise, that there may be in every other rank of beings, rising in regular gradation, one above another, *as many* creatures as there would have been, if each of these orders had existed alone.——It is, I think, almost demonstrable, that a constitution so diversified may yield upon the whole, the greatest good.”†

* Foster's discourses, i. 92.

† Foster's Sermons ii. 28.

ALL the *charities of life* advance ; and the *moral harmonies* are evolved, in unison with the benevolence that breathes through the system of the universe.

THE *social principle* increases enjoyments, by enlarging attentions. United forces and regards elevate each individual. Hence sound instruction, wise direction, and an augmenting communion of blessings, ever brightening by their circulation.

To persevering enterprize thus aided, *nature delivers up* almost unapproachable recesses, and benign mysteries are discovered. Causes lying distinct and inert in the original disposition, conjoined and applied by men, are made abundantly productive of profitable effects.

THE *arts and sciences* unfold their inestimable treasures, blending their kindred * rays in countless complications of improvement and embellishment. Even *body* is given to *thought* and *shape* to the *voice*, † with wings of unwearied flight, that

* *Cicero* observed this relationship——“*Omnes artes qua ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione inter se continenter.*”

† “*Phanices primi, famæ si credimus, ausi*

“*Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris*”

LUCAN.

waft the riches of intellectual gifts, from land to land, and from age to age.

From unexceptionable witnesses it appears on inquiry, that the *Phœnicians* and their colonists the *Carthaginians* spoke in different ages a dialect of the *Hebrew* language, scarcely varying from the original.

Eupolemus, in his book of the kings of *Judea*, says — “*Moses* was the first wise man———*letters* were first given by him to the *Jews* and from them the *Phœnicians* received them.

What renders this account very probable, is this circumstance, that the *Phœnicians* were next neighbours to the *Jews*.

Cæcilus, in his verses concerning the *Solyms*, who, he says, dwelt near the lake, supposed to be the “*Asphaltites*,” now called the *Dead-Sea*, uses this expression, —“These with their tongue pronounced *Phœnician* words.” Thus also *Lucian* —“He spoke some indistinct words like the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*.

To the same purpose *Plautus* and many others.

GROTIUS.

It has been disputed among pious and learned men, whether speech or the rendering our *ideas* audible by articulate sounds, and also, whether the method of rendering them visible by symbols called *letters*, are immediate revelations, or human inventions.

Surely it may be asserted, that the resolution of complex articulate sounds into simple elements or letters, with the recomposition of those sounds in writing them down alphabetically, far transcends any known invention of ancient times.

This is plain that whether *letters* are derived from an immediate revelation to *Moses* or to any before him, yet “by a review of what has been written about them, we may trace them backwards from nation to nation, and find them most early used in those parts” were, by the best accounts, mankind first dwelt, and “from whence they dispersed.” *Shuckford's* connection of sacred and profane history, I. 221.

THE *skies*, shut as it were by irremoveable obstacles, are unbarred, the motions of worlds and

By this review, as well as by other considerations drawn from a due respect for the divine perfections, and from the nature of things, we may be convinced, how vain is the representation made by some ancients through ignorance of the truth, and by some moderns in contempt of it, that men at first lived like beasts, making only strange and uncouth noises, till at length convenience taught them the use of speech.

Thus among others, *Diodorus Siculus* writes in his first book of history, and *Vitruvius* in his second book :

So *Horace*,

“ Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,

“ Mutum ac turpe pecus———

When animals crawl'd forth at first from earth,

A vile dumb herd they were———

And *Lucretius*,

“ At varios linguæ sonitus natura coegit

“ Mittere ; et utilitas expressit nomina rerum.

To utter various sounds nature compell'd

Mankind ; and then convenience taught them words.

However, letters may have been introduced, certain it is, that by *their aid* we, in a manner, start from the bounds of time and place in which we live, intellectually overtake things whirled from us by the lapse of ages, and approach even to the infancy of creation ; see, as it were, things separated from us by the greatest distance ; converse familiarly with the farthest absent ; are taught by the dead ; commit to an impartial and present depository private contracts, laws, and public treaties, that ought to be observed with entire faithfulness ; and transmit to posterity all the instruction we can possibly collect for rendering them wise, and good, and happy.

What thanks are due for such signal and lasting blessings!

stars, with their laws, are explored, and celestial luminaries are engaged to ascertain the mensurations of earth.

The art of *writing* was attended with vast benefits to mankind; but the transcription of books was so expensive, that hardly any but the rich could obtain them; and their libraries consisted of very few volumes. The accounts we have of the high prices sometimes given for books, are surprising. Private persons seldom possessed any whatever. Some remarkable particulars are collected in——

The history of the reign of *Charles the fifth*—Hist. illust. 193 to 196—and in *Henry's hist. of Britain*, 2. 287. &c.

The art of *printing* diffused the benefits of writing to almost all classes of people, and secured publications in such a manner by the multiplication of copies, that they could be transmitted to all countries, and from one generation to another.

A great geometrician * said——“give me *where* to stand, and I will move this world.”

THE PRESS appears to be the place, from which *the rational and moral* world is to be moved.

It is the right and the duty of men, to THINK FOR THEMSELVES.

THE MOMENTOUS CONTEST IS GOING ON, between religion, and hosts of enemies——liberty, and its adversaries tyranny and licentiousness——knowledge, and its opposites ignorance and falsehood.

THE CAUSE OF MANKIND IS PLEADING. Truth is essential to happiness——reason to the reception of truth——and discussion to the best use of reason. The blessings that have been mentioned are *related* one to another; and their united influence constitutes the greatest felicity of this life,

* *Archimedes.*

At last *——the *ocean* itself——with all its winds and waves *submits*——and obediently bears

How many of the human race present their distorted mind and injured bodies, in proof of this position!

TRUTH IS A VICTOR WITHOUT VIOLENCE.

* Though the magnet was used in navigation before the art of printing was known, yet it was not successfully applied in traversing the ocean, until that art had attained a considerable degree of perfection.——*The Bible* and several other books, were very well printed about the middle of the fifteenth century. *America* was not discovered by *Christopher Columbus* until the year 1492, and afterwards in that century the *Portuguese*, under *Vasco da Gama*, first sailed to the *East-Indies* by the cape of *Good Hope*.

The application of magnetism to navigation, and the formation of letters by the press are discoveries of *christian* countries.

In our attempts to estimate the benefits that have resulted to *such* countries by these discoveries, we should not neglect to take notice, how *opportunistically* they were made.

At the very period when the *Portuguese* arrived in the *East-Indies* the *Ma-bometans*, then very formidable, were strongly establishing themselves there. Had a little more time been allowed them, it is highly probable that their wishes would have been realised, by their being immoveably fixed in possession of all the wealth and power continually flowing, as the experience of ages has proved, from these inexhaustible sources. Nor is there the least reason to question, but that they would have strenuously employed this increase of wealth and power in their favourite design, of reducing all *Christendom* to the same miserable slavery, with which by their oppressive superstition, so many celebrated parts of it, including the birth-place of its religion, had been already overwhelmed.

If we turn our attention to the *West*, we may observe, that an *asylum* was seasonably opened in these woods, for the protection of our ancestors from the persecuting bigotry of their native countries, when they knew not where on the other side of the *Atlantic*, to lay their heads in peace.

its adventurous victors, guided by an insensible yet surprisingly empowered conductor, amidst the clouds of day, and the darkness of night, through every clime † to every shore.‡

Here, with pure hearts and humble zeal, they began to frame a political fabric, not "to make themselves a name," but to preserve the sacred fire of freedom. In the warmth of the freedom that has been thus conveyed from them to us, we now rejoice; and may it be, in like manner, conveyed from us to our latest posterity. What advantages will redound to mankind in general by the events that have occurred among us, under Providence their conduct and our own must determine.

The state of the christian world at the time when the art of printing was invented, and the changes that have since taken place, are well known.

† Man endures a greater variety of climates than any other animal, and is less influenced than any other by variations of food; so that he is enabled to spread his habitations over the earth.

No creature on this globe raises food for its maintenance, but man. The rest only gather what is prepared ‡ for them. This employment of man is an office of high dignity, because it produces a kind of inferior creation, and he has the honour of co-operating with his Maker in the process.

‡ The goodness of the Creator in providing for his creatures, is often celebrated in the scriptures, as in *Psalms* 104 and 145 — "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all—the earth is full of thy riches—so is this great and wide sea, wherein are things innumerable, both small and great—these wait all upon thee, that thou mayest give them their meat in due season—that thou givest them, they gather: thou openest thy hand—they are filled with good."

The scriptures also testify, in conformity to this Divine authority, that as dominion over the inferior creatures is vested in man by their kind and benevolent Maker, it is the duty of man to exercise it with gentleness, and not in a tyrannical manner. Thus, with an unexampled benignity, in the *laws* given to the *people of Israel*, and in other parts of the scriptures, this treatment of inferior creatures, is expressly enjoined or recommended. Exodus 20, 10—23, 11, 12—34. 26—Deut. 34, 26—Prov. 12, 10—and elsewhere.

SEPARATED nations become acquainted and affectionate. Benefits are exchanged ; industry is

This peculiar necessity allotted to man may be regarded in another light. It seems, by its frequent recurrence, intended to remind him of his dependence, after all his ingenuity and labour, upon the Author of his existence, “ who appointeth the seasons,” and “ giveth the increase,” for the continuance of that existence——to balance *the great powers* bestowed upon him, by circumstances constantly tending to inculcate humility and gratitude——to convince him by facts, that *the improvement of his condition* must be in a measure wrought out by his own exertions, and consequently that *this is a law of his nature*, that—*reason preside over and govern his conduct.*

ALL HIS ACTIONS OUGHT TO BE AS INNOCENT AS THOSE BY WHICH HIS LIFE IS SUSTAINED.

If it was not as common as it is, it would be surprising, that reasonable creatures should be inattentive to their entire dependence upon their Creator. By a small alteration in the motions of the heavenly bodies, we should be destroyed. History furnishes several instances——that the strength of powerful nations must fail in opposition even to insects, when their tribes issue forth in full force to consume the fruits of the earth.

If a person born in a mine, and, it is said, many are, should grow up to years of discretion, having never seen any animals except a few of his own species, any vegetables growing, any light but that of torches or candles, or, in short, any objects but such as usually present themselves in subterraneous places—and then—should be brought out of his gloomy dwelling, we can scarcely imagine his astonishment, on beholding the beauties of earth, the magnificence of the heavens, the glories of day, and feeling the influences of the sun. With how little gratitude is this profusion of blessings received by too many of us. Their abundance and constancy, seem to detract from their value. Objects are scarcely regarded, that if visible only from one part of this globe, or but once in an age, would put mankind in motion to view them, or engage their most anxious attention to watch for their appearance.

encouraged ; genius is invigorated ; knowledge is diffused ; and general prosperity is promoted.

THESE ARE THE WORKS OF PEACE.

† “The ancients chiefly failed in not being able to determine the four cardinal points, and each of the intermediate ones, with any tolerable degree of accuracy.

“The necessity they were under of coasting along the shore having no certain criterion for the *North* and *South* poles, made their voyages very limited.

“In the day, indeed, they were able to find a meridian line by the sun’s rising and setting, and at night the *Ursa Major* and the *pole star* pointed out the North ; but a cloudy sky deprived them of the benefit of this expedient.

“Another method used by the ancients was, by observing the direction they had run in ; for, knowing first the course in which they had set out, they kept an exact register of the inflections and variations of that course—a method equally tedious, perplexed, and precarious, a strong current or some other event, immediately confusing, if not destroying, the whole fruits of their labours.

“By the application of the *loadstone*, and the nice theory of the *needle*, these inconveniences are removed.”†

With such a rude stone, and such a slight piece of metal, were the foundations of these states laid. May the citizens of them ever sincerely revere the principles of *free navigation*, and gratefully remember the providential dispensations that gave them an existence in this land, for so many ages concealed by the ocean. May they enjoy a proper share in the commerce that is now opened to the inhabitants of the earth ; and may the exertions of their fortitude, diligence, and prudence be always made, as they are now, in subservience to justice, humanity, and public-spirit.

(*d*) “ THE principal defects seem to be,

“ 1. THE want of a complete discovery by the oath of the parties. This each of them is now entitled to have, by going through the expense and circuitry of a court of equity, and therefore it is sometimes had by consent, even in the courts of law. How far such a mode of compulsive examination is agreeable to the rights of mankind, and

If still, the *North* is to be distracted by almost-perpetual wars, or the *South* desolated in horrid traffic for human flesh : if still, myriads are to be massacred for the silver and the gold of the *West*, or the spices and the gems of the *East*——in the mean time may *United America*, as a common friend, cultivate, as much as she possibly can, the felicity of mankind. May *her* plough and *her* sail be blessings to nations. May it be *her* delightful employment, to “undo the heavy burthens——to deal bread to the hungry——to cover the naked——to satisfy the afflicted soul”——

This tenor of conduct was solemnly prescribed to a people formerly, with these gracious promises annexed——“Thy righteousness shall go before thee——the glory of the Lord shall be thy rereward——he shall satisfy *thy* soul——and thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations.”

“Reputation will vanish,” says a great historian, “and power must naturally decline, when men grow wanton with wealth, and employ the gifts of Providence for other purposes than they were designed.”

ought to be introduced in any country, may be matter of curious discussion, but is foreign to our present inquiries. It has long been introduced and established in our courts of equity, not to mention the civil law courts: and it seems the height of judicial absurdity, that in the same cause between the same parties, in the examination of the same facts, a discovery by the oath of the parties should be permitted on one side of *Westminster-hall*, and denied on the other; or that the judges of one and the same court should be bound by law to reject such a species of evidence, if attempted on a trial at bar, but, when sitting the next day as a court of equity, should be obliged to hear such examination read, and to found their decrees upon it. In short, within the same country, governed by the same laws, such a mode of inquiry should be universally admitted, or else universally rejected.

“2. A SECOND defect is of a nature somewhat similar to the first: the want of a compulsive power for the production of books and papers belonging to the parties. In the hands of third persons they can generally be obtained by rule of court, or by adding a clause of requisition to the writ of *subpœna*, which is then called a *subpœna duces tecum*. But, in mercantile transactions especially, the sight of the party's own books is frequently decisive: as, the day-book of a trader, where the transaction was

recently entered, as really understood at the time ; though subsequent events may tempt him to give it a different colour. And, as this evidence may be finally obtained, and produced on a trial at law, by the circuitous course of filing a bill in equity, the want of an original power for the same purposes in the courts of law is liable to the same observations as were made on the preceding article.

“ 3. ANOTHER want is that of powers to examine witnesses abroad, and to receive their depositions in writing, where the witnesses reside, and especially when the cause of action arises in a foreign country. To which may be added the power of examining witnesses that are aged, or going abroad, upon interrogatories *de bene esse* ; to be read in evidence, if the trial should be deferred till after their death or departure, but otherwise to be totally suppressed. Both these are now very frequently effected by mutual consent, if the parties are open and candid ; and they may also be done indirectly at any time, through the channel of a court of equity ; but such a practice has never yet been directly adopted * as the rule of a court of law. Yet where the cause of action arises in *India*, and a suit is brought thereupon in any of the king's courts at *Westminster*, the court may issue a commission to

* See page. 75.

examine witnesses upon the spot, and transmit the depositions to England.†

“4. THE administration of justice should not only be chaste, but should not even be suspected. A jury coming from the neighbourhood is in some respects a great advantage; but is often liable to strong objections: especially in small jurisdictions, as in cities which are counties of themselves, and such where assizes are but seldom holden; or where the question in dispute has an extensive local tendency; where a cry has been raised, and the passions of the multitude been inflamed; or where one of the parties is popular, and the other a stranger or obnoxious. It is true that if a whole county is interested in the question to be tried, the trial by the rule of law ‡ must be in some adjoining county: but, as there may be a strict interest so minute as not to occasion any bias, so there may be the strongest bias without any pecuniary interest. In all these cases, to summon a jury, labouring under local prejudices, is laying a snare for their consciences: and, though they should have virtue and vigour of mind sufficient to keep them upright, the parties will grow suspicious, and resort, under various pretences, to another mode of trial. The courts of law will therefore in *transitory* actions

† Stat. 13. Geo. III. c. 63.

‡ Stra. 177.

very often change the *venue*, or county wherein the cause is to be tried : * but in *local* actions, though they sometimes do it indirectly and by mutual consent, yet to effect it directly and absolutely, the parties are driven to a court of equity ; where, upon making out a proper case, it is done upon the ground of being necessary to a fair, impartial, and satisfactory trial.† *Black.* 381, 382, 383, 384.

THE learned judge has in the preceding enumeration omitted one provision of the utmost importance. That is the *selection of jurymen*, not only in cases of “local prejudices” mentioned by the judge, but in *all* cases, and with *such guards*, as *always* to secure *impartial juries*.



(e) A PEOPLE, to preserve their liberty must be of a bold and penetrating spirit : not only resentful of injuries when felt, and resolute in redressing them, but acute in discovering their approach, and active in preventing them. Caution is as necessary as

* See pag. 294.

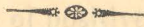
“† This among a number of other instances, was the case of the issues directed by the house of lords in the cause between the duke of *Devonshire* and the miners of the county of *Derby*, A. D. 1762.

vigor. They must be upon their guard against their own passions and affections.

THE very highest rewards of a free state, should be calculated to excite gratitude, and not ambition; and *the glory of rulers, should be to do good and to be loved.* This will lead them into a beautiful uniformity of conduct, and never suffer them to lay ambushes for popularity, afterwards to be abused for accomplishing unworthy purposes.

A FINE trait of patriotism is exhibited in the character of the renowned *Sertorius*. When banished from *Rome*, he would not permit his cruel country to be injured by the powerful *Mithridates*, who offered him the utmost aid then much wanted by him, if he would assent to that single condition.

It refreshes the mind to contemplate such a character; and the pleasure is increased, when upon examination we find it enriched by other amiable qualities. This intrepid hero, consummate general, and eminent statesman, was of a temper so mild and tenderly affectionate, that he almost expired with grief, as *Plutarch* tells us, on hearing of his mother's death. All virtues of public and private life are related.



(f) A modern instance of a similar kind presents itself in *Poland*. That country is now mourning under the effects of *frequent wars*, the *depression* of one part of the community by another, a *tumultuary* government, and the *ferocity* of factions.†

† “A forlorn stillness and solitude prevail almost through the whole extent with few symptoms of an inhabited, and still less of a civilized country, though our journey was made in the high road, which in a course of 250 English miles unites *Cracow* and *Warsaw*, the two most noted cities of the kingdom.”

Cox's travels, I. 200.

A faint idea may be formed of the excesses committed in *Poland*, from the following extracts, taken from public proceedings. The destruction of lives, and the variety of wretchedness, are too afflicting to be particularized. Some few years ago, that kingdom contained, as it was computed, about *fifteen millions* of inhabitants.

“The confederation of *Radom* in 1767, projected a dethronement—sent ambassadors into *Russia*, to demand the *guarantee of a new form of government*—

“That confederation not finding its wish accomplished at the expence of the king, discarded immediately the *designs of Russia*—and *Russia*, seeing herself crossed by those very men who *called for her aid*, caused four of its members to be dragged out of the middle of the diet—

“The confederation of *Bar*, in 1768, consisting almost of the same persons who composed that of *Radom*, set out with *intercepting the revenues* and domains of the king—and decreed his death by an authentic act now on record—

UNHAPPY people! surrounded by dangers——
possessed at least of freedom enough to disgust

“ Finally——our CIVIL DISSENSIONS presented to our neighbours the bait of our first dismemberment——(in 1772). ”

“ In 1773, on the memorable tenth of *May*, the advice in opposition to mine, obtained only a majority of four votes——

“ In 1788, I resisted for many months the changes, of which we now experience the dreadful consequences——

“ My speech of *March* the fifteenth, 1790, is in every one’s hands——It then pleased the diet, against my advice, unanimously to decree a new alliance, the inadvertency of which we now deplore.”

Speech of the king of *Poland* to the diet, *August* 10th, 1793.

The following extracts of a letter from a *Pole* of great distinction to the writer of this Essay, may perhaps be acceptable.

“ 29th November, 1783.”

“ I have been constantly on the wing since I left you, my mind occupied by objects, and my body tired by the fatigues of travelling. I congratulate you on the *British* troops having evacuated *New-York*——But now, that you are perfectly quiet, and masters of your own abodes, what will you do? what will be your political views? what will be your domestic conduct? how far will your reciprocal jealousies extend? who will have powers to stop them?—That public spirit, which distinguished you during the course of the revolution, will it last long against the prosperity of commerce, and the luxury that ever attends it, and against the insinuations of enemies that would divide you?—I declare now to you, that I think there does not exist a country that can vie with you in flourishing prospects. I know there is not one where man is more free, or where fortunes are more equal. In travelling through the remote parts of your continent, I learn how to compare the lives of your farmers to those of the patriarchs. It is there that misery discovers the golden age.——And a poor *European* finds means in settling there to change his slavery for liberty, his wants for ease. Scarcely he lives two years, but his ideas enlarge, he becomes man, and almost citizen——he is forced to quit his habitudes, his prejudices,

monarchs——refusing to take warning from the misconduct and misery of others——resolved to seek for future improvements of uncertain issue, by violent experiments of positive evil upon their present condition——trusting in the dispositions of strangers whom they ought to have suspected, and inflamed with rage against fellow-citizens whom

and even his vices, and to take the sentiments and virtues of his neighbours. Yes, I have there seen the subjects formerly of a bishop think freely on religion, and heard the natives of —— reason.

“These are the notions I have formed of your continent—If you have the goodness to relieve me in my doubts, you will add new favours to your former kindness. *As I have always my country in sight,* I go begging every where instructions, not for my satisfaction——but *to be able to fulfil honourably ONE DAY my task of citizen.*

“When I think, dear sir, that with three millions of people, without money, you have shaken off the yoke of a people like *England*, and have acquired such extensive territory——and that *Poland* has suffered herself to be robbed of five millions of souls, and a vast country——I ask——what can be the reason of this difference?

“But *whilst we wait to recover our rights* have a care to preserve yours, and remember always that maxim of *Cicero*——“*respublica RES EST POPULI——cum autem injustus ipse populus, non jam vitiosa, sed omnino nulla respublica est*”——

“If the state of my country remains always the same, I will say to my countrymen——come, pass over the seas, and insure to your children liberty and property. If my countrymen do not listen to me, I will say to my family——come. If my family refuse, I will go by *myself and die free* with you.

“Yet, though I shall be happy to see you, as that supposition is founded only on the bad fortune of my country, *may you never see again your friend.*”

they ought to have loved——as if they had been excited and impelled by their crafty cruel enemies to accomplish their insidious and ambitious designs, they rushed into *civil discord*——and when, dreadfully instructed by the fatal consequences of their imprudence, they turned to better thoughts——*it was too late*——

IN vain did fraternal affection and generous sentiment, in all the sympathies dearest to the human heart, re-unite them; in vain did sound policy devise a new constitution with other salutary measures, and heroic valour instantly step forth armed to support them; in vain they appealed to immemorial rights of territory, again and again solemnly recognized by almost all *Europe*; to treaties religiously repeated through a long succession of ages; to sovereigns bound by every just consideration to aid them——but——*they strove to be free*. In such courts, the offence was unpardonable. There they were adjudged guilty of virtue——and were *accordingly* condemned.

“ YET, thy proud lords, unpitied land ! shall see
 “ That man hath still a soul, and *dare be free* ;
 “ *A little while*, along thy saddening plains,
 “ The starless night of desolation reigns ;
 “ *Truth* shall restore the light by *nature* given,
 “ And like *Prometheus*, bring *the fire of Heaven* :

“ Prone to the dust *oppression* shall be hurl'd,
 “ Its name, its nature, perish'd from the world.”

Pleasures of hope.



(g) Most of the bodily weaknesses and diseases observable in civilised nations would be avoided, if they lived more agreeably to the established order of things.

THERE is a certain sanctity in human nature, that cannot be violated with impunity. If we pay a due homage to her sacred laws, we shall be well rewarded for our fidelity. Health and freedom are the inestimable boons she offers. In the volume of her works, the wisdom of morality is perpetually inculcated.

THE adorable Author of our existence has shewn more kindness to mankind, than they have shewn to one another, or even each to himself.

IF the sufferings inflicted by wicked men, especially wicked men holding power they never ought to be allowed, and those inflicted by our own intemperate passions, be removed, physical evils as they

are called, permitted no doubt for wise purposes, would but slightly affect the sum of human happiness.



(*b*) WHEN poverty is thought contemptible by a nation, wealth is become with that nation more estimable than religion and virtue. A truly wretched state !

By poverty is not barely meant a destitution of the necessaries or conveniences of life, but also a condition, in which the enjoyments attached to it are thought mean and contemptible by the rich.

THIS disposition is as replete with evils, as the box of *Pandora* is said to have been.

IMAGINARY or artificial wants are insatiable.* A rage for being distinguished by vain expence breaks out ; and so contagious is the taint of *bad*

* *Plutarch* tells us, that the friend of *Scopas* a rich *Thessalian* asked him for a piece of furniture, which he judged to be wholly useless to the possessor, as being quite superfluous. "Thou art mistaken, my friend," answered *Scopas* ; "the supreme happiness of our lives consists in those things which thou callest superfluous, not in those which thou callest necessaries."

example, that, notwithstanding the plausible calculations of the sordid profits to be drawn from indulged excesses, it is very desirable, that it may be maturely considered, whether the mischief may be so far checked by laws, as to allow time for giving a better direction to manners.

INDUSTRY and frugality are national benefits. A taste for *ostentatious living* often leads to overtrading, speculating, gaming, fraudulent dealing, bankruptcy, and wide-spreading destruction to multitudes of innocent families. *Venality* too frequently follows loss of character and property. Thus the number of worthless and dangerous citizens is increased, and every eminent free state that has existed has felt the deep wounds inflicted by such paricidal hands. “Hence,” says lord chancellor *Bacon*, “arose that observation of *Lucan* concerning the condition of the *Roman* empire a little before the civil war—

“Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore *scœnus*,
 “Hinc concussa fides, et *multis utile bellum*—

“That very thing,” *multis utile bellum* † is a certain indication of a state’s being disposed to tumults and convulsions.”

† “War useful to many.”

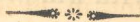
THERE is another class of citizens, that has been found too redundant in every free state. They are men so composed of meanness and pride, that basely contented if they can at once be slaves and tyrants, they will give their own servitude as the price for purchasing domination over others—

“ Dominationis in alios servitium suum mercedem dant” *Sallust.*

BUT to this catalogue of evils still remains to be added, that fatal one produced also by luxury—an effeminacy growing from habitual indulgences, that renders a people unable to bear the fatigues of war.

IN armies of such men there is always a want of proper alertness. The neighbourhood of an enemy cannot rouse them to any spirit of enterprize. A reluctance against exertion of mind or body prevails. Their hearts are languishing after gentler occupations; and these they imitate as well as they can in camp.

AT last, when compelled to engage, they are thinking of many things besides fighting, and if they run away to avoid wounds that might injure their features, they have a celebrated example in the Roman beaux at *Pharsalia*, for saving their faces by losing their liberty.



(i) “Now let me appeal to your lordships, as to men of enlarged and liberal minds, who have been led by your office and rank to the study of history. Can you find in the long succession of ages, in the whole extent of human affairs, a single instance, where distant provinces have been preserved in so flourishing a state, and kept at the same time in such due subjection to the mother country? My lords, there is no instance; the case never existed before. It is perhaps the most singular phenomenon in all civil history, and the cause of it well deserves your serious consideration. The true cause is, that a mother country never existed before, who placed her natives and her colonies on the same equal footing; and joined with them in fairly carrying on one common interest.

You ought to consider this, my lords, not as a mere historical fact, but as a most important and invaluable discovery. It enlarges our ideas of the power and energy of GOOD GOVERNMENT beyond all former examples; and shews that it can act like gravitation, at the greatest distances. It proves to a demonstration, that you may have good sub-

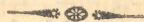
jects in the remotest corners of the earth, if you will but treat them with kindness and equity.”——

“By your old, rational, and generous administration, by treating the *Americans* as your friends and fellow-citizens, you made them the happiest of the human kind; and at the same time drew from them by commerce, more clear profit than *Spain* has drawn from all her mines; and their growing numbers were a daily increasing addition to your strength”——“let them continue to enjoy the liberty our fathers gave them. Gave them, did I say? They are co-heirs of liberty with ourselves; and their portion of the inheritance has been much better looked after than ours. Suffer them a little longer to enjoy that short period of *public integrity and domestic happiness*, which seems to be the portion allotted by Providence to young rising states. Instead of hoping, that *their constitution* may receive improvement from *our skill in government*, the most useful wish I can form in their favour is, that HEAVEN *may long preserve them from our vices and our politics*.——We ought to cherish them——as the heirs of our better days, of our old arts and manners, and of our expiring national virtues.——With your permission, my lords, I will waste one short argument more on the same cause, one that I own I am fond of, and which contains in it, what I think, must affect every generous mind. My lords, I look upon *North-America* as the only

great nursery of freemen now left upon the face of the earth.

“ LET us be content with the spoils and the destruction of the East. If your lordships see no impropriety in it, let the plunderer and the oppressor still go free. But, let not *the love of liberty be the only crime* you think worthy of punishment. I fear, we shall soon make it a part of our national character, to ruin every thing that has the misfortune to depend upon us.—If the tendency of this bill is, as I own it appears to me, to acquire a power of governing them by *influence and corruption*; in the first place, my lords, this is not *true government*, but a *sophisticated kind* which counterfeits the appearance, but *without the spirit or virtue of the true*: and then, as it tends to debase their spirits and corrupt their manners, to destroy all that is great and respectable in so considerable a part of the human species, and by degrees to gather them together with the rest of the world under the yoke of *universal slavery*—I think, for these reasons, it is the duty of every wise man, of every honest man, and of every *Englishman*, by all lawful means to oppose it.”

Bishop of St. Asaph,



(k) A LANDED *interest* widely diffused among the mass of a people, by the personal virtues of honest industry, fair dealing, and laudable frugality, is the firmest foundation that can be laid, for the secure establishment of civil liberty and national independence. Requisite arts, useful manufactures, and advantageous commerce, naturally grow up from such an establishment.

THE enlightened genius of *Virgil*, in describing the felicities of ancient *Italy*, rests the whole on these circumstances——

“*Terra—potens armis atque ubere glebæ—*

“Powerful in armed sons and fertile soil.”

By the policy of *Henry* the seventh of *England*, in order to strengthen himself against the nobility, the acquisition of property in lands by the commons was facilitated.

HIS selfish motives produced public benefits.—By this distribution a new vigor was communicated, and soon manifested itself by an amelioration

in the condition of the nation. Marriage was encouraged; population increased; a spirit of personal independence cherished; trade and navigation advanced; and in a very short time *English* discoveries were extended to this side of the *Atlantic*.

IN consequence of the vast fortunes accumulated by the excessive profits of offices, inordinate commerce, corrupt contracts, and “the blood of *Africa* and the tears of *Hindustan* transmuted into gold,” the lands of *England* are now and have been for several years past reverting into a few hands, as they were held in the times of feudality, but without the attachments of that system; and without such attachments by tenantry, as the prudence and benevolence of land-lords might form.—At the same time, the *laws* and *prevailing practices* * have a tendency to diminish the number of her YEOMANRY, that truly respectable and by far the most important class of the people.

OF this unwise and repulsive behaviour they *will* feel the consequences.

To such conduct *Aristotle* ascribes the ruin of *Sparta*. He lived only about sixty years after *Ly-*

† “Voragine—fœnoris, monopoliorum, et lati fundiorum in pascua conversorum, et similibus.”—The *whirlpools* of *loans*, *monopolies*—and the *change* of *farms* into *pasture grounds*, and the like.

sander, who by the conquest of *Athens* had introduced prodigious wealth into his country.

THE rich men became the engrossers of the lands, and the *militia* were thereby so reduced in number, that the same territory which formerly supplied fifteen hundred horse and thirty thousand foot well-armed, could not in *Aristotle's* time furnish one thousand.

SUCH is frequently the REACTION of short-sighted and hard-hearted selfishness, in national as well as in private affairs.

IT is not meant by what has been said, to commend the feudal system.

THAT system armed the *vassals* as much to gratify the passions of their superiors, as to protect the country. It was replete with discord, oppression and rapine. The principle of the *Anglo-saxon* government was much preferable, as this armed the people for national defence, and not for the purposes of pride, ambition, or any intemperate desires.

THE importance of such a *landed interest* as has been described, is not to be estimated merely on account of its immediate relation to general safety.

IT is also of high moment with respect to *morals*, as rural employments have a natural tendency to promote simplicity of manners, a love of peace, public order, and private tranquillity.

THE cultivation of the earth, its returns for the skill and labour bestowed upon it, the varieties and properties of its products, the contribution of the elements under a superintending Providence to these benefits, the changes of seasons and their effects, the beautiful alterations of scenery made by art surrounding the designer with a sort of creation by his own hands, an acquaintance with the several kinds and qualities of animals, and the gradual * improvement of circumstances by the regular application of industry to the honest acquisition of necessaries and conveniences, all conspire, by habit and reflection, the pleasures of the understanding mingling with attentions to laborious employments, to render a farmer at the same time a kind of philosopher ; by his domestic comforts to extend the circle of social enjoyments ; till by continual enlargement it embraces his *country*, enclosing all the heart-felt ties of relatives, friends, neighbours, and fellow-citizens. Public happiness arises from private virtue.

* “ The mind of man is more refreshed and exhilarated by his going forward in small things than by standing still in great.”

Lord chancellor *Bacon*, sermones fideles.

(1) “ THE seeds of war are chiefly sown by those whose wisdom and moderation, characteristic of their rank and station, ought to compose and assuage the impetuous passions of the multitude.

“ THE people, despised as they are, are the very persons who originally raise great and fair cities to their proud eminence ; who conduct the commercial business of them entirely ; and, by their excellent management fill them with opulence.

“ INTO these cities, after they are raised and enriched by *plebeians*, creep the *satraps* and *grandees*, like so many drones into a hive ; pilfer what was earned by the industry of others ; and thus, what was accumulated by the labor of the *many*, is dissipated by the profligacy of the *few* ; and what was built by *PLEBEIANS* on upright foundations, is levelled to the ground by cruelty and *royal* or *patrician* injustice.

“ IF the *military* transactions of old time are not worth remembrance, let him who can bear the

loathsome employ, only call to mind the wars of the last twelve years ; let him attentively consider the *causes* of them all, and he will find them ALL to have been undertaken for the sake of *kings* : all of them carried on with incalculable detriment to the *people* ; while, in most instances, the *people* had not the smallest concern in their origin or their issue.

“ BUT, among *christians*, as if shame had fled from earth, *clergymen*, solemnly consecrated to God, are often among the *first* to inflame the minds of both king and people, to blood and devastation.—*Preachers*, the guides of our lives, do not blush, to become the *instigators*, the very *firebrands* of war, against which *Christ*, from whom they all pretend to derive all the authority they can have, expressed his utter detestation.

“ A very few years ago, when the world labouring under a deadly fever, was rushing headlong to arms, the *gospel trumpeters* blew a blast from the pulpit and inflamed the wretched *KINGS* of *Europe* to a paroxism, running as they were fast enough of themselves, into a state of *downright insanity*.

“ *THE reverend fathers*——forgetting their personal and professional dignity, were——continually adding virulence to the disease of the world, by

their mischievous officiousness——and, in the mean time failed not to call their *blood-thirsty rage*, a zeal for *law, order, and religion*.——To forward their sanguinary purposes, they wrest the laws of heaven to a constructive meaning never intended, they misinterpret the writings of good men, they misquote and misrepresent the sacred scriptures, I do not say, with the most barefaced impudence only, but with the most blasphemous impiety. Nay, matters are come to such a pass, that it is deemed foolish and wicked to open one's mouth *against war*, or to venture a syllable in *praise of peace*——the constant theme of *Christ's* eulogy.——He is thought to be ill-affected to the *king*, and even to pay but little regard to the *people's* interest, who recommends what is of all things in the world the most salutary, to both king and people, or dissuades from that which, without exception, is the most destructive.

“ If it be true, that *christians* are members of one body, how happens it, that every *christian* does not sympathize and rejoice in every other *christian's* welfare.——Now, however it seems to be cause enough to commence “ *a just and necessary war,*” that a neighbouring land is in a more prosperous, flourishing or *free* condition than your own. For if you can but prevail upon yourselves to speak *the real truth*, what, I ask, has excited, and what continues

at this very day to excite, *so many combined powers* (*Charles the fifth, Henry the eighth, &c.*) against *France*, unless it be, that it is the finest and happiest country in *Europe*.

“MEN, in our times, go out of their way to seek occasions for war, and whatever makes for PEACE, they run down in their *sophistical speeches*, or even basely conceal from the public : but, whatever tends to promote their favourite *war system*, they industriously exaggerate and inflame, not scrupling to propogate *lies of the most mischievous kind*, false or garbled intelligence, and the grossest misrepresentation of the enemy. I am ashamed to relate what real and dreadful tragedies they found on these vile trifles.

“AFTER all the *pretences*, thrown out and the artifices used to irritate the people, there often LURKS in the bosoms of *kings* some private, mean and selfish motive, which is to force their subjects to take up weapons for slaughter——setting their wits to work, to invent some fictitious but plausible occasion for a rupture.

“I BLUSH to record, upon how *infamously frivolous* causes, the world has been roused to arms by *christian kings*. One of them has found or forged an obsolete musty parchment, on which he makes a

claim to a neighbouring territory: *as if it signified a straw to mankind*, thus called upon to shed blood, *who is the person or what the family of the ruler whoever he be*, provided he governs in such a manner, *as to consult and promote the public felicity*.

“ ANOTHER alledges, that some punctilio, in a treaty of a hundred articles, has been infringed or neglected.

“ A THIRD owes a neighbouring king, a *secret grudge*, on a *private* account, because he has married some princess, whom he intended to be his consort, or uttered some sarcasm that reflects upon his royal person or character.

“ BUT, what is the basest and most flagitious conduct of all, there are *crowned heads* [and sometimes *uncrowned heads* are as vile] who—finding *their own power* weakened by the *union* of the people, and strengthened by their *division*, contrive to excite war without any substantial reason for a rupture; merely to break the national concord, and pillage the oppressed people with impunity.

“ THERE are *infernal agents* enough who fatten on the plunder of the people, and have little to do in state affairs during the time of peace, who easily

manage to bring about *the wished for rupture* and embroil an *unoffending people* in a war with an *unoffending neighbour*.——Degraded wretches!——Great, only by the abuse of greatness!——Fools in every thing, but the art of doing mischief!——Unanimous in nothing, but in defrauding and oppressing the public!

“ YET, wretches and fools as they are, they are called *christians*, and have the impudence to go to church——*pests of mankind*, deserving to be *transported* out of civil society, and carried with *convicts* to the remotest islands of the ocean, *in exile for life*.

“ Do you desire to take *royal revenge* on a crowned head in your vicinity, who has presumed to refuse your daughter in marriage, or repudiated her after marriage, (alluding to events in the age of *Erasmus*) what is that to the welfare of *the people*? How is it, in the smallest degree, a business of the state, of the community at large? Yet, for as trifling causes as this, what scenes of happiness in all the walks of private life, among all the tender relations of parents, husbands and children, have been destroyed?

“ By the *intermarriages* of *kings* and their progeny, and the claims of succession which thence arise, a man born in *Ireland* may come to reign in

the *East-Indies* ; and another, who was a king in *Syria*, may, all of a sudden, start up an *Italian* prince.

“ WE plainly see, that hitherto nothing has been effectually done towards *permanent peace* by treaties, no good end answered by *royal intermarriages*, neither by violence, nor by revenge.

“ NOW, then it is time to pursue *different measures* ; to try the *experiment*, what a peaceable disposition, and a desire to do *acts of friendship and kindness*, can accomplish in promoting national amity.

“ FIRM and permanent peace is not to be secured by *marrying one royal family to another*, nor by treaties and alliances, for from these very family connections, treaties and alliances, we see wars chiefly originate. No ! the fountains, from which the streams of *this evil* flow, must be cleansed. It is from the *corrupt passions* of the human heart, that the tumults of war arise.—

I AM speaking all along of those wars which *christians* wage with *christians*, on trifling and unjustifiable occasions. I think very differently of wars *bona fide just and necessary* ; such as are in a strict sense of these words, purely *defensive*,

such as with an *honest* and *affectionate* zeal for the country, repel the violence of *invaders*, and at *the hazard of life preserve the public tranquillity.*"

Erasmus's "*COMPLAINT OF PEACE*," published at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Tho' the preceding note is extracted from a work published near *three hundred* years ago, yet such is the uniform succession of *royal* and *patri-cian* follies and vices, that the observations as exactly suit *our* times, as they did *those* in which the excellent author originally addressed them, to the civil and ecclesiastical disturbers and oppressors of the world.

THE hearts of modern rulers, like those of their predecessors, confident in their enormous power established by prejudices, superstitions and standing armies, easily catch fire from the spirit of ambition, pride, and rapine, and the flame being fanned and spread by their elevated situation and concurrent circumstances, peace, mercy, liberty, morals and happiness perish in the conflagration.

NOR should we wonder at the *regularity* with which these instances of madness and wickedness recur in *SUCH RULERS*; for, their education is generally worse than that of persons in lower stations

of life: and will be always so, as long as the same systems of government continue.

IN taking a survey of human calamities, we may observe an addition of immeasurable extent made to them by one cause, which, it is surprizing, that the common sense and natural feelings of mankind, have not long since extirpated from earth.

THE intermarriages of royal and princely families, with the pretensions derived from them, are here intended. Sometimes a prince bequeathed his subjects, a whole nation, as a private person would a herd of cattle, and the people submitted to such bequest.

IF the blood and miseries that have flowed in different countries and ages from this deleterious source, the effects of which are still felt in the world, could be represented to our view, we should turn with amazement and horror from the hideous sight.

To mention only a few instances out of a *great number*, let us only recollect the fatal consequences of the claims of *Edward* the third and *Henry* the fifth to the crown of *France*; of the houses of *York* and *Lancaster* to the crown of *England*; of *Charles* the fifth and *Francis* the first to *Milan* and *Naples*;

of the duke of *Anjou* and the arch-duke *Charles* to the *Spanish* dominions; of the king of *Prussia*, the elector of *Bavaria*, and others, to portions of the territories that had been possessed by the emperor *Charles* the sixth; and of the contest between the houses of *Brunswick* and *Stuart* for the *British* throne.



(*n*) NOTHING can be more evident and more infamous, than the ambition and duplicity with which the combined powers have acted in regard to FRANCE.

“TOWARDS the close of the summer of 1791, an extraordinary convention took place at *Pilnitz* † in *Saxony*, between the emperor *Leopold*, and the present king of *Prussia*, between whom, as principals, a treaty was formed, to which other powers are supposed to have afterwards acceded. The professed object of this treaty was sufficiently profligate and atrocious. It was the hostile invasion of *France* and the new modelling of its govern.

† The treaty of *Pavia* and that of *Pilnitz*, and the emperor's declaration at *Mantua*, were supposed to be to —the same purpose.

ment. In his circular letter from *Pavia*, of the 6th of *July*, the emperor had avowed a similar intention, and had invited the princes of *Europe* to co-operate with him in the resistance to those principles so obnoxious to arbitrary authority, which had pervaded *France*, and which threatened to extend over the whole face of *Europe*. The league of *Pilnitz*, however, in which the empress of *Russia* is also to be considered as principally concerned, is generally supposed to have had more extensive views, and to have involved projects still more offensive, if possible, to the dictates of justice, and to the peace of *Europe*. The *partition* of *France* as well as of *Poland*, or at least of a considerable portion of the territories of both, among the confederated powers, and a new modelling of the *Germanic* circles, are strongly suspected to have been the real principles upon which this infamous compact was founded. Dark and mysterious as the conduct of the allied courts has been, relative to the substance of the conference, the imprudence of some of the inferior agents has dropped occasional intimations which can leave little doubt of the criminality of their designs.

“ CONSIDERING, however, the convention of *Pilnitz* in the most favourable point of view, and accepting the explanation of its express framers, the proceeding is sufficiently unjust and absurd, to

warrant the most unqualified censure. If any thing on earth is sacred, it is *the domestic economy of both nations and individuals*. In private life the iniquity of interfering in a hostile manner in the internal state of household concerns of a neighbour, is felt and acknowledged by all mankind. Are then the rights of nations to be accounted less sacred than those of private citizens? Are the lives of millions, who must fall on both sides in such a contest, of less consequence than the poverty or anxiety of individuals. But this is not the worst ; the principle, if once admitted, is subversive of every right, and necessarily sanctions every crime that can be committed against society. It sanctions robbery and murder."

" FRANCE, at the moment when this royal banditti were plotting against her peace, might be said literally to be in *a state of internal tranquillity*."

THE designs of the coalesced powers are sufficiently explained by subsequent events.

" IN 1793, general *Dumourier* entered into an agreement with the prince of *Saxe Cobourg*, commander of the forces of the combined powers, "to co-operate in giving to *France* her constitutional king, and the *constitution she formed for herself*. On his word of honour, the prince pledged himself,

that he would not come upon the *French* territory to make conquests, but solely for the ends above specified." He published a proclamation conformable to this declaration.

SOME few days afterwards, "A congress of the representatives of the combined powers was assembled at *Antwerp*—the duke of *York* and lord *Auckland* were present on the part of *Great-Britain*. The particulars of what passed on this important occasion have not yet transpired—we only know, that it was resolved to commence a plan of active operation against *France*. The prince of *Cobourg* was compelled to unsay all that he had set forth with so much solemnity, in his proclamation of the 5th—and a *scheme of conquest* was formally announced in a new proclamation, which was issued by the same general on the 9th of the same month."

"It was obvious, that so impolitic a step could have no other tendency, than to destroy all confidence in the professions of the allied powers."*

ALL their proceedings were directed by the same insidious and basely selfish policy. "If we observe the conduct," says an excellent *British* writer, "of those princes with respect to *Poland*, it will

* New Annual Register for 1793, page 155, &c.

afford the fairest comment on their motives with respect to *France*.”†

THEY frequently published proclamations to deceive, divide, and distract the *French* nation, but all of them discordant and injurious. *They never held out a single plan of accommodation.* While they were striving to confound the public mind, they steadily and invariably pursued their original design of *dismembering* the kingdom, and then establishing a *despotic monarchy* upon its wretched debris.

SINCE these letters were first published, a treatise called “The Political State of *Europe* at the beginning of 1796,” has been received.

THE author, *Calonne*, late minister of the finances of *France*, under LEWIS XVI. whose hopes entirely rest on the restoration of monarchy, a writer of extensive information and eminent talents, a vehement enemy of *French* republicanism, and as warm a friend to the coalesced powers, ascribes the bad success of their measures to the weakly—selfish, cruel and provoking outrages of the confederates. He employs many pages on this

† New Annual Register, for 1792, page 120.

subject. The following quotation may be sufficient to shew the iniquity of their proceedings: it is from that part which he entitles——“*intentions that were manifested.*”

“WE shall not hesitate to disclose what no pains have been taken to conceal: a throne was to be *re-established*, and its fall has diffused an apparent *satisfaction*; an *ostentatious desire* was shewn of *retrieving*, but soon was evinced *the manifest purpose of dismembering the empire*; those who announced themselves as auxiliaries, soon behaved as *invaders*; oppression was to be opposed, and *unblushing examples* of it were given; the world was scandalized by a *ferocious rapacity*, when it was of so much importance that it should be edified by singular acts of justice: and a war, which ought to have been a war of *general interest*, of *honour* and *generosity*, is become a war of *aggrandizement*, *selfishness*, and *illiberal views*.

“WE cannot be accused of exaggerating what we should *wish to palliate*; or of arraigning, by rash suppositions, the various intentions of the cabinets of *Europe*: we only speak of appearances: of appearances that have manifested themselves to *every understanding* by facts of *public notoriety*; first, by *equivocal proclamations*, whose *ever-varying complexion* betrayed a *purpose very different*

from their ostensible spirit ; and where the words of *pledge* and *indemnity* but imperfectly veiled *more extended views* ; afterwards by the taking of *Valenciennes* in the name of the emperor, and by the union of *Corsica* to the *British* empire, which, in whatever manner it was effected, has rendered the disinterestedness of *England* as suspicious as that of the other powers.”

Page 19.

THIS is the language of a man, who for several years has been exerting his utmost efforts to promote the re-establishment of monarchical government in *France*, by the interference of the combined powers. What less than *truth*, evident to “*every understanding*,” could have induced him to hold such language ?



(o) “ WE are convinced from a multitude of examples, that whenever the fermentations occasioned by the” *cruel* “*ambition* of PRINCES and the” *artfully-excited* “*resentment* of their subjects, subside, the natural turn of the human race is to have a quiet intercourse with each other, and a reciprocal exchange of those blessings which Provi-

dence has liberally bestowed on all, though in different proportions. We cannot help perceiving, that in consequence of *this universal disposition*, several old routs, by which the communications were maintained between very remote countries, subsist either in whole or in part at this day, notwithstanding temporary interruptions.”

It seems to be a proof, that Providence *designed* such a quiet intercourse even between nations seated at a great distance from one another, that in many parts of the world they are provided with animals, camels and dromedaries, there called *ships of the land*, peculiarly formed for making journies over the vast desarts, that, like *seas of sand* separate them, and without which animals it would be impossible to keep up a useful correspondence between countries divided as they are.

OF this kind of intercourse in early ages, the scriptures make mention, many centuries before any notice appears to have been taken of it in any other writings ; and their account is *confirmed* by similar practices down to the present time.

Gen. xxiv. 44. 1. Kings x. 2.

ANOTHER argument that Providence *intended* a commercial intercourse between nations, may be drawn from this circumstance——that their *produc-*

tions are so different. This variety is justly observed by a *Heathen* poet, who enumerates several particulars——

“ NATURE these laws, and these eternal bands,
“ First fix'd to *certain* climes and *various* lands.”

Virgil, Geo. 1.

ACCORDING to the history which *Moses* has given us of the peopling of the earth after the deluge, we might reasonably suppose, that an intercourse between the inhabitants of the *East* must have subsisted very early, or to speak with greater propriety, *must have continued from the beginning*; and it is very remarkable, that this fact is confirmed by authors, sacred and profane.

THE first book of *Grotius's* excellent treatise on the truth of the *christian* religion and the notes, contain an abstract of many very valuable authorities on the subject.

It is most probable, that the *Arabians* were the first that sailed thither by sea; as we know, that the *Isbmaelites* who lived in the same country, were the first that carried spices by land into *Egypt*. *Gen. xxxvii. 25.* The first mention that is made of *ships* in history, is in *Genesis xlix. 13.* in the

time of *Jacob*, nearly two thousand years before the commencement of the *christian* æra.

(*p*) *CARTHAGE*, eager in the pursuit of wealth, neglected her *militia*, and fatally trusted too much in her fleets and mercenary armies.

It is a poor state of national health, to be strong in some of the limbs and weak in the body. When blows of invasion are struck at the breasts of such nations, they cannot stand on their legs.

AGATHOCLES king of *Sicily* astonished the world, by the manner in which he availed himself of this political position.

HE was besieged in *Syracuse* by a vast *Carthaginian* force, and was almost reduced to the last extremity. His situation appeared desperate. His daring mind took counsel from that state of his affairs. He embarked a small army on his remaining gallies, set sail, dexterously eluded the *Carthaginian* fleet, landed in *Africa*, burnt his ships, fiercely invaded their dominions on that continent,

conquered all before him, advanced to the walls of *Carthage*, laid siege to it, and reduced that city to the same distress in which he had left his own capital. The siege of *Syracuse* was raised, confusion followed, and the besiegers were cut to pieces.

THIS bold enterprize excited *Scipio Africanus*, as *Livy* informs us, to a like descent on *Africa*. That step compelled *Hannibal* to retire from *Italy*, and by the defeat of his army quickly after at *Zama*, *Carthage* received the shock from which she never recovered.

THE rulers of the *Venetian* republic following the example of *Carthage*, placed their reliance for defence on land in a standing army, denying “*through jealousy*” as history testifies, the use of arms to the people.

IN the famous *league of Cambray*, they fully experienced the mischiefs of such policy. By the single battle of *Aignadelle*, in which they were defeated, they lost all their dominions on the continent, and their name would have been erased from the list of nations, if the confederates, as in such alliances generally happens, had not quarrelled among themselves.

ON the other hand, where the militia of a state is well armed and disciplined, a few defeats do not determine its fate, as was demonstrated by the *Romans* in their last mentioned war.

IN less than three years, as *Arrian* relates, *Hannibal* had destroyed more than two hundred and fifty thousand of their best troops. Then the *militia* came forward, and by bravery and prudence united, restored affairs, and saved their country.

SOME authors have ascribed the victories of *Hannibal* over the *Romans*, as well as those of *Philip* of *Macedon* over the *Greeks*, to the circumstance of their leading veteran armies against militia.

THIS opinion does not appear to be well founded. It is true, that soldiers strictly disciplined and inured to the hardships of service, will have advantages over men suddenly called together from their several domestic occupations. But, these advantages are of short duration, and of slight consequence as to the summ of the war, if it be conducted prudently on the part of the invaded, and *defensive* wars only are here intended.

HISTORY affords many instances of unexperienced and even disheartened troops, being by wise management soon brought to such skill in discipline

and to such an animation of mind, as to encounter veteran armies with success.

THE *Greeks* had by their follies been preparing themselves for destruction, and the battle of *Chæroneæ* subverted their liberty. But, that battle was not lost, for want of courage or discipline in the privates, but for want of judgment and even of common sense in the leaders. The mistakes of these that caused the defeat are particularized by historians. The center and one wing of the *Macedonian* army were repulsed, and if *Lysicles* the *Athenian* general had been a man of abilities, the *phalanx* which still resisted and at last conquered, would have been broken to pieces, as it was afterwards by *Paulus Emilius* at the battle of *Pydne*, or at least it would have been so shattered, that the fatal day would not have been the last of *Grecian* freedom.

WHEN *Hannibal* descended from *the Alps*, his harrassed army amounted to about twenty-five thousand men. Was it want of courage or discipline in the hundreds of thousands of *Roman* soldiers, that delivered them up to death by his sword? Far from it. His victories were obtained by superiority of generalship over the commanders who opposed him, and the events that occurred in the course of the war, prove this statement to be true.

As to the conquests made by the standing armies of *Rome*, they were invariably owing to one of these causes——first, the effeminacy or corruption of civilized nations——secondly, the follies and vices of princes——thirdly, the gross ignorance of barbarous nations——to which may be added their division into clans not sufficiently united.

YET, the resistance of these rude and rough warriors limited the extent of the empire.

THE competence of a militia to *self-defence* here contended for, peculiarly refers to a brave nation, possessing a knowledge common to them and to their enemies.

EVENTS similar to those of antiquity have occurred in our own times.

THE late king of *Prussia*, after his *veteran armies* had been annihilated in the course of the *seven years war*, and *Europe* thought his destruction inevitable, at the very close of the dreadful contest that was to decide the fate of his family and country, put himself at the head of his *new-raised levies*, which were *militia*, and gained the important battle of *Torgau*, against marshal *Daun*, one of the most renowned generals of the age, com-

manding the still unexhausted old bands of *Austria*.

FOR the want of this *internal force*, not the wall of *China*, one of the wonders of the world, has been sufficient, however garrisoned, to compensate. For considerably more than a century, that most extraordinary nation, far out-numbering the inhabitants of all *Europe*, has been subject to a *Tartarian* tribe comparatively diminutive in population, that broke through their enormous, but unprotective barrier.

VALOUR and discipline are moveable bulwarks and living fortifications. Their activity can improve every advantage.—

“ *Mobilitate viget....* ”

THOSE in the field may be joined by reinforcements, if required, on every side. Their intelligence will be constant and faithful. They may save their country, as the great *Roman* did, by waiting patiently on hills and mountains; pour down to victory as he did, when opportunity offers; entangle an enemy in vallies, defiles, and courses of rivers; waste him by delays, and continual attacks on weak parts; intercept recruits and supplies; and convince even an *Hannibal*, that large cities and pitched battles may be gained, without

conquering a free people, whose minds and bodies are duly prepared for resistance.

THUS thought and thus acted that wise and magnanimous woman, *Elizabeth*, queen of *England*.

A GREAT part of her reign was a period of as imminent dangers as any prince ever encountered. She was surrounded by the most formidable and the most inveterate enemies, commanding vast armies, and the strongest fleets that the world for many ages had seen. They threatened an invasion, the very preparations for which filled many nations with amazement and terror. To meet the storm on land, she prudently and courageously relied on the *militia* of her kingdom, for she knew them to be *deeply interested in the cause*.

It is *our* duty to look forward to the changes, that may be reasonably expected to take place on this continent.

To judge of future events by the past, the time will come, when nothing less than the whole militia * of our union, well armed and well trained,

* It merits much consideration, whether in arranging the militia a competent number may not be selected for *exercises*, without interrupting the education of the young, or requiring too much exertion from the aged. Supposing the selection made by law, to be limited to those between 21 and 41 years of age,

will be sufficient to deter attacks, or to repel them when made. We are therefore bound by every obligation of common interest, and of regard for the welfare of mankind, assiduously to cultivate the most tender fraternal love between the citizens of these states, that by the animating and vigorous powers of mutual affection and confidence, we may grow up to the full maturity of our native strength, and *then, and then only*, we may, under Providence, be

“Confident against the world in arms.”

It would be too tedious, to recapitulate all the instances that might be adduced to prove to a free people, the wisdom of placing their main reliance in *such preparations* for defence, or in other words, of being an ARMED NATION.†

WE ought to rejoice in reflecting, that in consequence of the alterations latterly made in tactics by the use of fire arms, a *militia* may much more ea-

yet other persons not legally called upon, might enrol themselves as volunteers. In the course of a few years, all able bodied men might be properly disciplined, and armed in the best manner.

† A celebrated historian observes, that “the blessings of peace must be guarded by the sword of freedom.”

sily become equal to *veterans*, than among the ancients.† *Skill in exercises* and *bodily strength hardened by services*, are now of less importance than formerly. Men and nations are brought more on a level.

THE vindication of their rights is therefore now more easy to oppressed nations, than it was in preceding ages ; and perhaps the time is approaching, when the means of defence against injuries will be so improved, and the hazards of attack so increased, that war will become even to those who are most fond of it, an employment too perilous to be pursued.

A SMALL standing army cannot defend an extensive country, and a large one is always injurious to the welfare, and dangerous to the liberty of a people. Those excellent counsellors, common sense and common honesty, induced our ancestors to adopt one plain maxim of inestimable worth, for securing national happiness. It was this, to——

† This observation applies with peculiar force, to such a people as we are in these woods, were to almost every man the use of a musket is as familiar, as the use of a knife; and whose *lads* would not stay long for their breakfasts, tho' not to be obtained but on performance of the condition prescribed to the *Balearic* youth of antiquity——

“ To hit a small mark at a certain distance, before they were permitted to eat.”

connect the civil and military powers, and direct them to the same end, retaining the latter in strict subordination to the former.

IN every country where this connection has been neglected, the military power has become a *dictator* to the civil power.

THE voice of reason and the voice of historic experience address us, in the strongest and clearest notes of warning. Let us attentively listen to their solemn instruction.

IF man had always continued innocent, political power would have been unnecessary. It is no part of the original constitution, but derived from the depravation of that constitution. It partakes therefore of his infirmities ; and one of the most mournful reflections is presented to us by observing, how almost invariably this power corrupts the human mind. The effect is so alarmingly general, as to call loudly on every free nation, *to be perpetually upon guard.*

AN armed people, with unarmed magistrates, is the best security for liberty.

THERE cannot be a plainer proof, that magistrates entertain views unfavourable to the welfare

of their country, than their aversion to a *national militia*.

WHILE the measures of magistrates are agreeable to the people, things proceed quietly and happily : but, when *they* are determined to pursue measures displeasing to the people, *then*, for carrying their own will into execution against the will of the people, *they look for some other support*.

IF it should be asked, when does this opposition of wills take place, the answer suggested by truth, is——when rulers resolve to gratify their ambition, avarice, pride, or any base passion, *whatever expence of blood or treasure* it may cost the people. But do they frequently happen ? To go no farther, let the history of modern *Europe* be consulted. There we shall find, that but a few centuries ago, the inhabitants of all its divisions were free. They were brave too ; but unhappily they were heedless also. Many snares were spread for their unsuspecting simplicity, and before they discovered them, they were caught in the toils, and reduced to slavery.

An aversion to a national militia acts as the main spring that regulates all these snares.

SOMETIMES magistrates indulge this disposition, by craftily neglecting this *natural force*. Sometimes, they insidiously manage so as to enervate it, for this purpose availing themselves particularly of the ignorance and indolence of those who know not its value, or who dislike any exertion unless it be immediately profitable or pleasant. Sometimes, they cunningly *irritate and arm* one part of the people against their fellow-citizens.* Sometimes, raw in policy or rash in passion, they by their mismanagement or insolence *create* disorder, and then, with the blundering boldness of fear, deny the utility of militia. Alarmed at the discontents and evils *which their own follies or vices have produced*, they cry out, that nothing less than *the energy of a standing*

* "When the authority of rulers becomes an *accessory* to any cause, and a *stronger obligation* is formed than the *bond of government*, they begin to fall from their power."

Lord chancellor Bacon.

"An ulla esse major aut insignior contumelia potest, quam *partem civitatis velut contaminatam haberi*? Quid est alium quam exilium inter eadem mœnia, quam relegationem pati? Sic nos sub legis super bissime vincula conjicitis, quod dirimatis societatem civilem, *duas que ex una civitate faciatis*."

LIVY, book 4. chap 4.

The thirty tyrants established at *Athens* by *Lysander*, adopted this iniquitous policy. They *armed* three or four thousand assassins, and *disarmed* the rest of the people. They then imprisoned, fined, confiscated, and destroyed, as they pleased. This was the plan by which *Oliver Cromwell* declared, that he could *energetically* govern the whole *British* nation.

army, and copious phlebotomy by the points of swords and bayonets can cure the diseases.

BUT, this direful process for changing freedom into servitude, must be conducted with due decorum; for the *usurpers* of power always moving in the view of the public, are the most decorous of all mortals. The *form* is to deceive, while they seize the *substance*. Every violence has its attendant vindication. Their massacres are humane, and their robberies equitable. Thus, the patriotic *Julius Cæsar*, to defend the rights of the plebeians, justly enslaved *Rome*. Thus, the pious *Oliver Cromwell*, to keep the peace of the nation, mercifully enslaved *Britain*.

If a law or a constitution stands in the way of such ambitious commentators, not the three brothers so celebrated for their dexterity of interpretation could be more versute in extracting a meaning accommodated to their inclinations.

If their construction cannot be found in so many words, they are far from being discouraged. They will next seek for it in so many syllables. If even syllables should be so stubborn as to deny their aid, they can at least find in different parts a sufficient number of letters, and then by joining these toge-

ther, they can readily spell out whatever they please.*

O, MISERABLE condition of human society ! when unblushing fraud supported by unfeeling force, imposes its cabballistical quiddities, in place of the genuine and sacred truths penned by wisdom and virtue, as the testimonies of our rights and the vouchers of our compacts.

“ ————— Nos certe taceamus, et obruta multa
 “ Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.”

Statius.

WHEN once rulers have by their delusions obtained a standing army, its growth in every age and in every country has been tremendously rapid. *Montesquieu* calls “ the augmentation of troops in *Europe* a distemper. The consequence of such a situation is *the perpetual augmentation of taxes* ; and the mischief which *prevents all future remedy* is, that they reckon no more on their *revenues*, but go to war with their *whole capital*. It is not an unusual thing, to see *governments* mortgage their funds *even in time of peace*, and to employ what they call *extraordinary means*, to ruin themselves ; *means so extraordinary indeed, that such are hard-*

* *Swift's works*, vol. I. page 76—86.

ly thought on by the most extravagant young spendthrifts."

THE consequence of this false policy has been in every nation, *extreme wretchedness to the people.*

NOTHING can be more plain, than this position, that to prevent the *executive* of any government from being enabled to *oppress*, the armies with which he is *entrusted*, should consist of *the people*, and have *the same sentiments* with the people.

HISTORIANS have observed, that in the times of our *Anglo-Saxon* ancestors, tho' every man was constantly armed for public defence, yet, being governed with moderation according to known laws, "no popular insurrection ever happened."

Sir William Temple's introduction to the history of *England*, page 303.

THUS, *Switzerland*, where every man is armed, has, for several centuries, enjoyed domestic tranquillity.

As to the formation of *standing armies* there have been varieties. Some ancient and some modern princes have preferred *foreigners*. This was the practice of several kings of *England* in their

disputes with the barons ; and it was attended with some success. For there are almost continually floating about in every country, a number of idle, necessitous, unprincipled men, who rejoice to be called together, and embodied for plundering, by a powerful prince or a daring adventurer.

MARIUS, whose sagacious and sanguinary example has been generally followed by the contenders for undue eminence, was the first among the *Romans* who formed his armies of *the dregs of society*.

IN such cases horrible associations take place. They depend on their employers for prey, and their employers depend on them for power. This innovation made by *Marius* laid the foundation for that military tyranny, which afterwards afflicted, and at last ruined his country.

IN the estimate of such accurate calculators of merit, men rise in value, in proportion as they are destitute of principle and property. Those who have no home but the camp, and no hope but in cruelty, are above all price. *Such soldiers can be relied on.* At the word of command, their only law, they spring forward to the work assigned them. Their eyes know not to pity, nor their

hands to spare. What excellent materials to their leaders, for rearing the fabric of glory——of immortal glory ! “ Sic itur ad astra ”———*exclaim their flatterers*——which words may well be translated——“ this is *their* way to heaven.”

THESE materials being properly selected, the management is a very easy business. The *Roman* legions, under the doting *Claudius*, made many conquests. “ An army is so forceable, and at the same time so coarse a weapon, that any hand which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendent in human society.”

AUGUSTUS Cæsar, a complete master of the artifices that have been so baneful to the peace, liberty, and happiness of mankind, was at the very same time when he practised them, perfectly sensible of the inherent defects and dangers that attended them. He would accordingly, tho’ commanding near half a million of men in arms, declare to his intimates, that the *Roman* affairs then stood “ *more on reputation than strength.*”

NOTWITHSTANDING this clear conviction, he had not integrity and magnanimity enough to put things into a better state, as his honest son-in-law *Agrippa* advised him to do, but went on in vacil-

lations of hopes, fears, vanities, distrusts, gleams of duty, and the still-darkening and finally prevailing shades of selfishness, till at last, wretched in domestic relations, unassured as to foreign, bankrupt of every tender and generous affection private and public, he gloomily bequeathed the world to *Tiberius* and to slavery.

BEFORE he closed a life that put liberty to death,* three or four legions under *Varus*, one of

* Historians are agreed, that *Julius Cæsar* rather threw chains over the *Romans* than fixed them; but that *Augustus Cæsar* by a cool deliberate perseverance in the practice of every deception and of every cruelty, for nearly half a century, fastened and riveted them on.

Every youth in these states should be taught to abhor the specious, splendid, liberticide tyrant. They should also be informed, that the praises bestowed upon him by *Virgil* and *Horace*, were not given to him for his merits, but by this address, the only means in their power, to shew him *what he ought to be*, and if possible, to soothe this foe to humanity into some mildness of temper. VIRTUE, conducted by *the graces* was placed in his view——and his accusing heart recoiled at the heavenly vision.

What, to speak of no other account, is now thought, and by those whose sentiments are worth regarding will be thought, as long as the human race exists, of those oppressors of their fellow-creatures, who have condemned themselves to the notice of future ages?

Alexander, in his distressful return from *India*, we are told, exclaimed——
“O *Athenians*, to what toils and dangers do I expose myself, to obtain your applause.”

With much more propriety might he, speaking in the name of all such aspirants for fame, have said “O *world*, to what toils and dangers do we expose ourselves, to obtain your detestation.”

his generals, were cut off by the *German* hero *Arminius*, and his brave compatriots, in the *Hercynian* forest. Terrified at the blow, and expecting the victors immediately to advance, and avail themselves of the circumstances he had undesignedly prepared for assuring their success, he walked in agitation about his house, like a person distracted, striking his head against the walls, and crying——*Varus, Varus*, restore me my legions.”

At length, on his less guilty successors and his devoted country, down came the long dreaded destruction.

In process of time the armies became enervated. The fierce nations, which had for many years wished to seize the rich prey, defeated those that were stationed on the frontiers. Having passed this line, they rushed into a land abounding in every thing but courage, arms, and discipline. Terror, fright, slaughter, with a deluge of miseries, overwhelmed the inhabitants——of the *Roman* empire only the name remained.

—WHEN a reader for the first time peruses the pages relating to this mournful period, he is struck with vast surprise, on observing those nations which were the most distinguished for their love of liberty and martial spirit, crouch at once into mean despon-

dence and dastardly submission, before half-armed and undisciplined *barbarians*, many of them in so rude a state, as not to know how to raise grain, or to make bread : as for instance, when he finds the descendents of those *Britons* who repulsed *Cæsar*, and so long defended their freedom against the utmost efforts of *Rome*, basely uttering what they called the “ groans of *Britain*” to a *Roman* officer ; or, when he finds the posterity of the *Spaniards*, who had resisted the *Roman* arms in their greatest strength, with firmer determination than any nation in the world, even for more than *two hundred years*, completely conquered by the undisciplined *Vandals* in the short space of two *campaigns*,

THIS astonishing and destructive degeneracy that spread throughout the whole *Roman* empire, is accounted for in a moment, when *this single fact* expressly declared in history becomes known——that “ *the jealousy of despotism had deprived the people of the use of arms.*”

THIS decree contained a volume of denunciations. It doomed them to shame, sorrow, fear, ignorance, and every suffering that could tend to degradation of character. They were taxed, injured, insulted at the pleasure of rapacious, cruel, and arrogant masters. The principles and actions of their ancestors were worn out of their memories. Their

minds having always debasing images present to them, withered to a dreadful sympathy with their abject condition. *Thought* was useless, as their only business was to *obey*. They lost of course the capacity of decision. The vigour of the soul was gone. The blandishments of life were fled. Hope was dead. *Nations* became monuments of divine blessings blasted by human crimes.

LET us turn our afflicted recollections from these kindred woes, to seek for subjects of some consolation.

AMONG modern rulers, the *Stuarts*, those *pe-dants* in government, whose little minds were always striving to grasp great powers, had the tyrannic aversion to *a national militia* in the extreme ; and it is well known, what it cost the *Stuarts*.

THE family that succeeded them in the throne, succeeded them also in that malady ; and so much infatuated were they by it, that they were very near losing their crown, when about ten thousand half-armed *Higblanders* advanced to a place only one hundred miles distant from *London*. The *English* were then, as they always are, brave ; but they had been betrayed into the disuse of arms. Their preservation was owing to the imbecility of the invaders.

LET us therefore rely on *a well armed and well trained militia*, as the natural, the most effectual, and the safest means of national defence.

By *defence* is not meant merely a resistance against *attacks made*, but also a capacity for disabling an enemy at a considerable distance, and thus *preventing attacks*.

THE most illustrious example of this kind given by *militia*, to be found on the pages of history, ancient or modern, our own country affords.

IN the year 1745, war then raging, the vast importance of *Louisbourg*, the capital of the island of *Cape-Breton*, was unanimously acknowledged.

“ THE people of *New-England* behaved on this occasion with great spirit. Three thousand eight hundred and fifty volunteers, all of them well affected to the expedition, assembled themselves at *Boston*. At *Canso* the whole body of land forces, including marines, amounted to about six thousand. On the 30th of *April*, about ten men of war of different rates, some other armed vessels, and the transports arrived in *Gabaron* bay, which lies within about four miles of *Louisbourg*, and notwithstanding some resistance that was made, the forces landed with very inconsiderable loss, and

drove the troops that opposed them into the woods. The ground between the place of landing and the ramparts of the town, was extremely boggy, unequal, and almost impassable ; but nothing could discourage the assailants, who formed two separate camps which were to direct two attacks. The one played from the South side of the harbour, directly upon the town, and the other from the North part of it, to silence what was called the great battery, which mounted 35 guns of 42 pounds, and commanded the entry and the bay. Besides these, the enemy had a draw-bridge at the Western gate of the town, where was a circular battery of 16 guns, 24 pounders each, commanding the upper part of the harbour, at the mouth of which was the island battery of 34 guns, 42 pounders. The walls, ramparts, and bastions, mounted 64 guns, and the place was besides defended by 10 mortars, each of 13 inches bore, and six of nine inches. It was strong by nature as well as by art ; and the garrison consisted of 1200 regulars"—exclusive, as it is apprehended, of the burghers.

“ Tho’ neither the *militia* nor their commanders had ever seen any military service, *they proceeded with all the regularity and intrepidity of veterans.* The grand approaches to the body of the place were to be carried on from the Southern side. Here the service was extremely laborious, the guns for

mounting the batteries being dragged through bogs and incumbered places by the landsmen, for above two miles. They succeeded however to admiration, and by the assistance of the officers and engineers of the marines, and some lent them by the commodore, they mounted a large train of artillery on an eminence called the *Green-hill*, about three quarters of a mile from the place.—The garrison having made a resolute defence, and a general assault being expected, surrendered on the 15th of *June*.”*

THE following extract from general *Sumpter's* truly valuable speech in congress, in the year 1798, will shew, that the Southern states partake of the same gallant spirit that animates the Northern.

“THE true force of the Southern states to defend themselves, cannot be doubted by those who

* *Tindal's* continuation of *Rapin's* history of *England* vol. 21. pag. 157.—

Of these noble exertions, the excellent bishop of *St. Asaph* speaks in the following honorable terms. “Let us not forget, that the people of *New-England* were themselves, during the last war, the most forward of all in the national cause; that in every year we voted them a considerable sum, in acknowledgement of their zeal and their services; that in the preceding war, they alone enabled us to make the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by furnishing us with the only equivalent for the towns that were taken from our allies in *Flanders*.”

were attentive observers of their exertions throughout our revolutionary war.

“It is an unpleasant thing for me to have to make any remarks on a subject of this sort ; but so frequently have gentlemen made invidious distinctions between the courage and efficacy of militia and regulars and with so much injustice to the former, that I cannot permit their assertions any longer to pass without notice. For doing this, I do not mean to derogate from the merit of the late *American* regular army, nor more particularly from that part of it which served to the southward, of whose condition I can better judge than of that which served in the middle and eastern districts ; as to them, I am bold to say, they were not inferior, under all circumstances, to any army of equal numbers and equal opportunities, which I have heard or read of, in any time or any place—but then it must be also remembered, whatever gentlemen may here say to the contrary, that the militia were as serviceable, and as successful as any regulars whatever.

“I WILL take a cursory review of the services of the militia in one of the southern states, which will tend to support my last declaration.

“I WILL quote only a few cases out of a great number where the militia have acted alone, without

any co-operation or support from the regulars, and that against the veteran and conquering cavalry and infantry of *British* corps, and in which actions they were distinguished for their bravery and success. It may be remembered, that very partial if any impressions, had ever been made by our regular troops on the *British* corps of cavalry during the early period of the war ; and it seemed to be reserved to the southern militia to convince them that their equals existed in our country. It is not to be attributed to the want of courage or discipline in our regular corps that this had not been done before, but to imperious circumstances which no skill could overcome ; but this did not change the fact.

“ AFTER the fall of *Charleston* in 1780, the first action, and that fought by the militia, without any aid from our regulars, was the action of *Fishing-Creek* ; where, without entering into a minute description of all the circumstances attendant on such an occasion, it will be sufficient to say, that the gallant captain *Rooke*, who commanded a squadron of *Tarleton's* legion, fell, and the whole force was beaten and dispersed.

“ A few days after—and here permit me, to remark, that if my colleague does not remember, and *our* historians have neglected to record the achievements of the militia, yet justice is in some degree done them

by a *British* historian, who was an officer in the *British* service in that part of our country, and at the very time I am speaking of, who corroborates my facts. A few days after an attack was made by the militia on *Rocky-Mount* ; and colonel *Turnbull*, who commanded the enemy's force, and who is now in *New-York*, I have no doubt has candour enough to acknowledge, that from the contest he had with them (although strongly defended by well constructed works,) and which lasted *ten hours*, there is something due to their bravery and the effect of their arms.

“ EIGHT days after the affair on *Rocky-Mount*, an attack was made on the *British* at their posts of the *Hanging-Rock*. The force on this occasion consisted of the same corps of *South-Carolina* militia who had enterprized on the other occasion ; they were in number about 600 ; they had been joined by a few of the militia from *North-Carolina*, and it is a pleasure to reflect on the cordiality and bravery displayed by them on this occasion.

“ THE enemy's force at this post was 1200 effectives ; yet the result was, after an action which lasted through the greatest part of the day, that major *Bryan's* corps was totally defeated, the prince of *Wales'* regiment exterminated, even its name has never since been recorded. Other detachments

from the 63d and 71st, under the command of major *Carden*, were also cut up, driven from their encampment with the entire loss of baggage, &c. and, in the course of this action, captain *Kinlaw*, with a squadron of *Tarleton's* legion arrived from *Rocky-Mount*, made a desperate charge on the militia, was repulsed by them and fled to *Camden*, without attempting to renew the combat. In this, as well as other actions, it ought to be remembered, how many field-officers, brave captains and other officers, as well as valuable citizens fell, or were wounded, while another nation had to regret in this action alone, the loss of upwards of 800 men.

“ PASSING by a number of important and considerable conflicts which took place between the *British* regulars and the southern militia, still unsupported by regulars of our own army, I come now to mention the attack which was made in the neighbourhood of *Winnesborough*, while lord *Cornwallis* lay in that town, upon the *South-Carolina* militia, by a *British* regular force under majors *Weyms* and *M'Carthy*, supported by two troops of cavalry, the whole corps drawn together and formed for the purpose, after various charges made by the infantry and cavalry, and after repeated repulses, the enemy was totally repelled, their commanding officer wounded and taken, together with a number of his corps, and the rest were dispersed.

“ ON the return of colonel *Tarleton* to *Winnesborough*, another effort was made, and from the number as well as the nature of the troops employed, it was certainly intended to be effectual in driving the *South-Carolina* militia from that part of the country ; for it was *Tarleton's* legion, *M'Carthy's* corps, and that part of the 63d under major *Money*, which troops were led to the attack of the militia on the 20th of *November*. The result of this action is known, to those who do not wish to detract from the merit of the militia. The enemy's detachment consisted of 270 legionary horse, and upwards of 400 regular infantry, with two fields pieces ; the militia were between 5 and 600, without (as indeed they were through all the actions I have described) a single piece of artillery. In the number of militia are included some *Georgians*, who not only acquired honour to themselves from their exertions on that day, but did honour to their country. The fate of the *British* cavalry was then decided ; they had been formerly unconquerable but after that day they were never known to be brought to act with either energy or effect.

“ KNOWING the ardour and firmness of the southern militia, and not doubting but the militia of the several states in the union possess equal motives for their exertions, equal spirit and activity, I cannot, but rely on them as the natural and main sup-

port of our national independence——a support fully effectual without a recurrence to a standing army. These few cases, and it is stopping very short indeed of what the merits of the southern militia deserve, tend to shew that the charges brought against the militia generally are as unfounded as they are cruel to their feelings; while at the same time they demonstrate, that if an invasion (which is a contingency by no means likely to happen) should actually take place, we may rely with confidence on the manly exertions of the militia, to meet the attack, and to resist every effort, at least for such a period as until more effective aid shall be drawn down to their support, and more permanent measures adopted.”



(9) THE trite observation, that “Statesmen and priests devised religious terrors, more easily to subject the people to their tyranny,” could have been vented only by profound ignorance or cruel deceitfulness.

HISTORY proves by an accumulation of evidence, that the *original creed* of mankind was this——that men are the creatures of a supreme being, who

after their death, will adjudge them to be happy or unhappy, according to the obedience or disobedience of their behaviour in this life.†

It is incredible, that this agreement so early and so constant, of so many different and vastly distant nations in the belief of *creation* and a *future state* of rewards and punishments, should have prevailed as it certainly did, unless it had been transmitted to them in some *revelation* from their *common ancestors*.

THESE foundations of the relation between THE DEITY and the human race were revered by them, until in some countries the pure doctrine was corrupted by the weak or selfish policy of their teachers or rulers, and in others a false philosophy began to rage, and vice and vanity sought for satisfaction in a confusion of principles, and for fame in the sophistry of disputation.

STATESMEN and priests indeed, finding these grand points, on which the regulation of human

† “ Moreover, concerning a divine judgment after this life, we find many things extant, not only among the *Greeks*, but also among the *Egyptians* and *Indians*, as *Strabo*, *Diogenes*, *Laertius* and *Plutarch* tell us; to which we may add a tradition that the world should be burnt——and so likewise, upon the first going into the *Ganary islands* and *America*, and other distant places, the same opinion concerning souls and judgment was found.”

Grotius,——*Shuckford*, &c. &c.

conduct so much depends, firmly established in the minds of the people, sometimes presumed to add their inventions to the divine truths : for, however well or ill meant their design was, they built their superstructures upon the ancient and venerated principles.

BUT, with the same wretched effect, that invariably follows every attempt of man, to put his wisdom upon an equality with that of his Maker, these efforts of artifice and folly continually weakened the sanctions of true religion.

How a knowledge of religious truths was at the beginning communicated to mankind is an awful inquiry.

OUR first parents were at their creation most certainly endowed with proper bodily powers, or they must have immediately perished.

BUT this would have been an imperfect provision for them, unless instruction had been also given to them, for procuring subsistence, and for conversing with one another.

It is not credible, that with the donation of existence and its accompanying faculties, their understandings should have been left entirely blank, as

to the superior obligations of piety and social duty, with their attendant affections and enjoyments. Maturity of body and infancy of mind, would have been in the designed duration of the species an inconsistency.

WITHOUT these communications the human state would have been defective; and the divine excellencies forbid us to ascribe to THE DEITY, so incomplete an establishment for the rational and the moral world.

THUS reason seems clearly to decide; and if we consult experience we shall find, that history in recording the facts of experience evinces——that religious worship was more pure, and social duty more observed in the primitive ages, than they were afterwards; and that as men more and more receded from those ages, they became more and more estranged from piety and virtue, till at length they sunk into the grossest ignorance and the vilest corruption.

WHY should we be averse to the belief of *this* mournful degeneracy of mankind, when we so well know the progress of the ignorance and corruption, that have been intermingled with the divine religion of our blessed Saviour, by the “many inventions of men?”†

THEIR fatal error has always been the attempting to make themselves more wise and more happy, than their Creator intended them to be, in this life.

BORN for a brief existence upon earth in their way to immortality, they would have the divine counsels that are to govern through eternity, fully unfolded in this transient state to their limited capacities.

Too presumptuous men ! After an eternity that is past, they find, that *they* now “ live, and move, and have their being.”

FROM whom have these gifts proceeded ? From the omnipotent, omniscient, and infinitely excellent Sovereign of the universe. When such good gifts have been received by them, *after* an eternity of which they had no knowledge, why should they distrust the conduct of that adorable Lord, through the eternity that is *to come* ? Was sight bestowed upon them, to find fault with the sun ? Were their intellectual faculties conferred, to dispute with the Donor of them.

THE foregoing observations, and indeed all contained in these papers that relate to moral or religious subjects, are some results of an impartial and faithful study of TRUTH, continued through many

years, with a constant, humble, and ardent desire, that they might, in some manner or other, become useful to certain classes of fellow-creatures, who have not equal opportunities of making such inquiries.

IF these pages shall contribute to put a single youth, or any one citizen of whatever condition, upon his guard against the false and insidious pretences to the soundest learning and the noblest liberality, so boldly advanced in these times, and the influences of which so directly tend to the ruin of individuals, families, states, and civil societies, the writer will esteem himself greatly rewarded for his labours.

HE freely confesses, that for his own use, he prefers the broad-cloth of a *Locke* and a *Lardner* to the cobwebs of a *Hume* and a *Gibbon*.



(*r*) THIS important truth should have been observed by our government, as the political pole star for guiding the vessel of our republic into a *safe port*.

ON the contrary, our management has been so fluctuating, and our course so confused by manœuvres thwarting one another, that from them it was not easy to determine *what port* was aimed at.

At last, the alarmed people obliged our pilots to keep clear of *the most dangerous coasts*; and may the same vigilant wisdom compel them to steer *more steadily* to the end of the voyage.

BUT, it is feared, that no wisdom of the people or their magistrates can compensate for some errors that have been committed.



(s) "IN all free governments there always have been, and there always will be, some minister or some set of ministers, forming schemes for overturning the liberties of the people, and establishing themselves in arbitrary power. Such men are generally at first the *idols* of the people, and before their *latent* designs come to be discovered, they prevail with the people to enter into such measures, or to make such regulations, as may contribute to the success of *their* schemes. But, if the people are wise enough, and sufficiently jealous of their liberties, they never fail to discover *these* designs before they are ripe for execution.

"As soon as they have made this discovery, and see the evil tendency of the measures or regulations they have been led into, of course they alter the former and repeal the latter." *Parl. deb.*

“ OUR times have, I suppose, exhibited the first instance of persons setting up for *patriots*, upon the avowed principle of making *one half* of their countrymen enemies to the *other half*. All patriots before have *contented* themselves, with making a *tyrant* or *his tools* odious to his people : but, never thought of making *the people* hate *the people*.”

Ibid.

(t) “ THE parsimony which leads to accumulation (of wealth) has become almost as rare in *republican* as in *monarchical* governments. The *Italian* republics, the united provinces of the *Netherlands*, are all in debt. The canton of *Berne* is the single republic in *Europe*, which has amassed any considerable treasure. The other *Swiss* republics have not. The taste for *some sort of pageantry*, for splendid buildings, at least, and other public ornaments, frequently prevails as much in the apparently sober senate house of a little republic, as in the dissipated court of the greatest king.

“ THE want of parsimony in time of peace, imposes the necessity of contracting debt in time of war.”

IN a commercial state “ the government is very apt to repose itself upon the ability and willingness

of its subjects to lend it their money on extraordinary occasions. It foresees the facility of borrowing, and therefore dispenses itself from the duty of saving.

“ THE progress of the enormous debts which at present oppress, and will in the long run probably ruin, all the great nations of *Europe*, has been pretty uniform. Nations, like private men, have generally begun to borrow upon what may be called personal credit, without assigning or mortgaging any particular fund for the payment of the debt; and when this resource has failed them, they have gone on to borrow upon assignments or mortgages of particular funds.

“ THE *practice of funding* has gradually enfeebled every state which has adopted it. The *Italian* republics seem to have begun it. *Genoa* and *Venice*, the only two remaining which can pretend to independent existence, have both been enfeebled by it. *Spain* seems to have learned the practice from the *Italian* republics, and, its taxes being probably less judicious than theirs, it has, in proportion to its natural strength, been still more enfeebled. The debts of *Spain* are very old standing. It was deeply in debt before the end of the sixteenth century, before *England* owed a shilling. *France*, notwithstanding all its natural resources, languishes under an oppressive load of the same

kind. The republic of *the United Provinces*, is as much enfeebled by its debts, as either *Genoa* or *Venice*. Is it likely, that in *Great-Britain* alone, a practice which has brought either desolation or weakness into every other country, should prove altogether innocent?

“THE system of taxation established in those different countries, it may be said, is inferior to that of *England*. I believe, it is so: but it ought to be remembered that when the wisest government has exhausted all the proper subjects of taxation, it must in cases of urgent necessity, have recourse to improper ones.

“WHEN national debts have once been accumulated to a certain degree, there is scarce, I believe, a single instance of their having been fairly and completely paid. The liberation of the public revenue, if it has ever been brought about at all, has always been brought about by a bankruptcy; sometimes by an avowed one, but always by a real one, though frequently by a pretended payment.”

Smith's wealth of nations—vol. 1.

F I N I S.

Subscribers Names.

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Page.	Line.
100	4 dele "in"
116	7 dele "to"
130	8 dele "the"
184	7 for "1764" read 1674.
212	10 of the note, dele "It is."
247	6 for "stores" read <i>flores</i> .
271	1 for "effect" read <i>affect</i> .
278	7 for "conjectures" read <i>conjunctures</i> .
364	for "fright" read <i>flight</i> .

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Charles M. Cullen,
John Leverton,
William Mason.
Dr. Nathaniel Luff, *Frederica*
Peter Lowber, esq.

MARYLAND.

John F. Mercier, esq. governor of the state.
Gabriel Duval, esq. *Annapolis*.
George Corrie, *Head of Chester*.
Capt. John Campbell,
Joseph N. Gordon.
John Leeds Bozman, *Easton*.
Samuel H. Dickenson,
Thomas P. Smith.
Dr. John W. King, *Elkton*,
John Partridge, esq.
Richard Mansfield,
David Smith, esq.
Major Thomas Forman, *Warwick*.
Robert Wright, esq. M. S. U. S. *Chestertown*.
Richard S. Thomas,
James Scott, esq.
Richard Barroll, esq.
William Barroll, esq.

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 Morgan Brown,
 Samuel Chew, esq.
 Dr. James Anderson,
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 Lemuel Purnell.
 Thomas Wright, esq. *Queen-Ann's county.*
 Robert Emory,
 Samuel Burgess,
 Samuel Gould,
 Henry Coursey,
 V. F. Earle,
 Jonathan Bready,
 Philemon Murphy.
 Samuel T. Wright, *Centerville.*
 Joseph H. Nicholson, esq. M. H. R. U. S.
 Trueman Hawley, *George-Town.*
 Dr. Edward Scott, *George-Town Cross-Roads.*
 James Corse, *Kent County.*
 Jacob Freeman,
 Samuel Davis, esq.
 John Moore.
 William Suddler, *Church-Hill.*
 Capt. Thomas Ward Veazy, *Sassafras-Neck.*
 John Cox, jun.
 Joshua Ward,
 Edward H. Veazy, esq.
 Francis Cann,
 Lambert Veazy,
 James Duyer,
 Hugh Price,
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 John Porter,
 Joseph Stockton,
 John H. Cromwell.

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William Haslett, *Greensboro'*.
Thomas Moffitt, *North-East*.
Robert Hart, *Elk-Neck*.
John G. Richardson, *Back-Creek Neck*.
Major Hezekiah Foard, *Bohemia-Manor*.
Benjamin Bayard.
Col. William Whiteley, *Caroline County*.
William Whittington,
Thomas J. Bullitt,
Hugh M. Henry,
George Martin,
Solomon Brown,
Thomas Richardson,
Dehar Thompson,
William Potter,
Joshua Driver,
John Baynard,
William Edmonson.
Robert H. Jackson, *Somerset County*.
Gen. Samuel Smith, *Baltimore*.
James Calhoun, esq. Mayor of the City.
Nathaniel Potter,
John Purviance,
Robert Purviance,
Peter Forney,
Peter Cassatt,
Robert A. Caldcleugh,
Stephen Wilson,
Samuel Byrnes,
Jacob Frank,
John Martin,
Capt. Jacob Brinton,
Solomon Cotton, & Co.
Henry Didier, jun.
James Ross,
Thomas Dobbin,

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John Comyges,
Philip Graybel, jun.
Joel Munson,
Andrew Aitken,
John Scott,
James Sloan, jun.
George P. Keeports,
Henry Downes,
Philip Moore,
Columbus J. Byrne,
James L. Hawkins,
Thomas Bodley,
John Zimmer,
Reuben Etting,
Robert Carter,
Henry Wilson,
Christopher Hughs,
Nathaniel F. Williams,
John Cornthwait,
George M'Candless,
David Fulton,
Alexander Martin,
John Fichach,
Joseph Blake, jun.
Andrew M'Laughlin,
John Duer,
William Guynn,
William Forman,
Dennis Nowland,
Thomas Foulke,
Thomas Mummey,
Enoch Betts,
Samuel Butler,
Samuel Sower,
John W. Butler,
Henry Johnson,

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Frederick Hammer,
Dr. Joseph Way,
George Kelso,
James A. Buchanan,
John Hollins,
James Purviance,
William B. Hawkins,
Thomas L. Brent,
William Patterson,
Michael M'Laughlin,
John M'Kim, jun.
Athan Martin,
Nathaniel Andrews,
Standish Barry,
Solomon Etting,
John Hanna,
Robert Moore,
William M'Donald,
Duncan M'Callum,
Samuel Sheppard,
Jacob Sholt,
James Sloan,
William Goodwin,
H. D. Howard,
E. Johnson,
John Coffie,
John Bankson,
John Diffenderffer, jun.
Anthony Mann,
John Snyder,
Isaac Griest.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Thomas Jefferson, esq. President of the United
States, *Washington.*
James Madison, esq. secretary of state.
Albert Gallatin, esq. secretary of the treasury.

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

Henry Dearborn, esq. secretary of war.
Robert Smith, esq. secretary of the navy.
Levi Lincoln, esq. attorney general.
Gideon Grainger, esq. post-master general.
Jacob Wagner, esq.
John Woodsides, jun.
John March,
Robert W. Peacock,
Samuel H. Smith,
Daniel Rapine,
John H. Barney, *George-Town*.
John V. Thomas, *Alexandria*.
John Thomas Ricketts,
Cottom & Stewart,
Thomas & John Wescott,
Samuel Bishop,
William C. Hubert,

VIRGINIA.

James Munroe, esq. governor of the state.
Thomas Newton, jun. esq. M. H. R. U. S.
Wilson C. Nichols, esq. M. S. U. S. *Warren
County*.
Hugh Mercer, *Fredericksburgh*.
Merewether Jones, esq. *Richmond*.
Samuel Pleasants,
Ross & Douglas, *Petersburg*.
M. Field,
William Prentis.

NORTH-CAROLINA.

Willis Alston, esq. M. H. R. U. S.
Charles Johnson, esq. M. H. R. U. S.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

Gen. Thomas Sumpter, M. S. U. S.

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.

Nasworthy Hunter, esq. M. H. R. U. S.